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ASSURBANIPAL HUNTING.  
*From a Slab found at Nineveh, now in the British Museum.*

HISTORY  
OF  
ASSURBANIPAL,  
TRANSLATED FROM THE  
CUNEIFORM INSCRIPTIONS.

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BY GEORGE SMITH.

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## P R E F A C E .

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IN the year 1866 I commenced copying Inscriptions with a view to publish a History of Assurbanipal. In the next year, 1867, I was appointed to assist Sir H. Rawlinson in preparing a new volume of Assyrian Inscriptions, and the copies of cylinder fragments of Assurbanipal, made by Mr. E. R. Bowler, were placed in my hands. These copies I found very useful, as Mr. Bowler had great experience in copying the Cuneiform character; and from them, in conjunction with my own copies, I put together the Cylinder Inscriptions, having at the time the benefit of Sir H. Rawlinson's supervision. These cylinders, and the principal tablets of Assurbanipal, were printed in the Third-Volume of Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia.

After the printing of this work I found that, by search in the Museum cupboards, I was gathering a number of new fragments of the annals of Assurbanipal. I added these to my copies, and commenced translating them. On mentioning the subject to Mr. J. W. Bosanquet, the well-known Chronologist, he generously proposed to advance a sum of money for the publication of these annals, which sum he subsequently increased; and the completion of the work was provided for by Mr. H. Fox Talbot, the Assyrian scholar. To the kindness and liberality of these two gentlemen I am entirely indebted for the means of publishing my present work.

In order to make the book as perfect as possible I have re-copied all the texts from the original tablets and cylinders, but the fragmentary state of some of the inscriptions causes considerable doubt as to the reading of several passages; these, however, do not affect any important historical matter.

All passages restored will be found enclosed in brackets, thus [𐎶𐎵]; passages or signs present in one copy but omitted in another (𐎶𐎵); and variant words or passages are given thus (v. 𐎶𐎵).

The two books which I have most used in my translation are the Assyrian Dictionary of my friend Mr. E. Norris, and Fuerst's Hebrew and Chaldee Lexicon. I differ in opinion from Mr. Norris as to the meaning of several Assyrian words; but the numerous examples and comparisons given in his Dictionary make it a most valuable aid to Assyrian scholars. The printing of the present work has occupied about twelve months. It has been in the hands of Messrs. Harrison and Sons, who have spared no expense to make it perfect; and for its progress I am much indebted to Mr. John Mabey, the compositor, who has so much skill in setting-up the Cuneiform types.

My own chronological views are not very decided, for the Assyrian Inscriptions have introduced many difficulties into this already complicated subject; on this account I have said as little as possible about the chronology. Mr. Bosanquet has inserted, at the end of the book, a paper to explain his views on the subject of Chronology in connection with the Annals of Assurbanipal.

G. S.

*September, 1871.*

## ASSURBANIPAL.

FIRST among the sources of information respecting Assurbanipal must be placed the decagon cylinder (Cylinder A) in the British Museum. This inscription is the most perfect of his longer documents, and carries his history down to a later period than the others. Cylinder A, when complete, contained over 1,200 lines of cuneiform writing (about twenty lines are now quite lost), and is divided by lines drawn across the columns into thirteen parts. The inscriptions on other types of cylinders—the octagon (Cylinder B), the decagons (Cylinders C and D), and Cylinder E—supply us with accounts of two expeditions omitted on Cylinder A. Besides these there are many independent inscriptions, giving the history of particular campaigns; and lastly, the reports of the Assyrian generals to Assurbanipal, and his answers and proclamations. The history of Assurbanipal from these materials will divide itself into the following heads:—

The introduction, genealogy, and accession of the monarch.

The first Egyptian war.

The second Egyptian war.

The siege of Tyre and affairs of Lydia.

The conquest of Karbit (omitted on Cylinder A).

The war with Minni.

The war with Urtaki, king of Elam (omitted on Cylinder A).

The war with Te-umman, king of Elam, and the conquest of Gambuli.

\* (The revolt of Saul-mugina, brother of Assurbanipal.)

The first war with Umman-aldas, king of Elam. -

The second war with Umman-aldas.

The Arabian war.

The final triumph over Elam.

The buildings of Assurbanipal. .

Later notices of his reign and sketch of the chronology.

Under each head the most important documents referring to it will be given, so far as possible, that the different accounts may be compared together. Cylinder A is here taken as the standard wherever it refers to the events.

## PART I.

### *Introduction, Genealogy, and Accession of Assurbanipal.*

The name of Assur-bani-pal, ordinarily written  $\text{𒌷} \text{𒂗} \text{𒂊} \text{𒂵}$ , sometimes  $\text{𒌷} \text{𒂗} \text{𒂊}$  and  $\text{𒌷} \text{𒂗} \text{𒂊} \text{𒂵} \text{𒂗} \text{𒂵}$ , and once  $\text{𒌷} \text{𒂗} \text{𒂊} \text{𒂵} \text{𒂗} \text{𒂵}$ , consists of three elements; the first  $\text{𒌷}$ ,  $\text{𒂗}$ , or  $\text{𒂗}$ , is the name of the god Assur; the second element,  $\text{𒂊}$ ,  $\text{𒂵}$ , or  $\text{𒂵}$ , *bani* or *ban*, is a form of the verb to make or beget; and the third element,  $\text{𒂵}$ ,  $\text{𒂵}$ ,  $\text{𒂵}$ , or  $\text{𒂵}$ , is the Assyrian word for *son*. There is a doubt about the pronunciation of this element; in *Cun. Ins. Vol. III*, p. 70, l. 122,  $\text{𒂵} \text{𒂵} \text{𒂵}$ , *ibila*, is given as the Akkad value, and  $\text{𒂵} \text{𒂵}$ , *ablu*, as the Assyrian sound; this agrees with *Cun. Ins. Vol. I*, p. 53, l. 33, where the word is written  $\text{𒂵} \text{𒂵} \text{𒂵}$ , *abil*; but against this we have to place the fact that this word is rendered in the Hebrew and Greek, in the case of three other names, without the initial *a*. These names are  $\text{𒌷} \text{𒂗} \text{𒂵} \text{𒂵} \text{𒂵} \text{𒂵} \text{𒂵}$ , which is rendered in Hebrew

תִּגְלַת־פִּלְאֶסֶר, in the Septuagint *Θαλγαθφελλασαρ*, in our version Tiglath Pileser;  $\text{𐤠 𐤠𐤭 𐤠𐤭𐤠 𐤠𐤭𐤠𐤭 𐤠𐤭𐤠𐤭𐤠 𐤠𐤭𐤠𐤭𐤠𐤭𐤠}$ , in Hebrew מֶרֶדַח בַּלְאֲדָן, in the Septuagint *Μαρωδὰχ Βαλαδάν*, in our version Merodach Baladan; and  $\text{𐤠 𐤠𐤭 𐤠𐤭𐤠 𐤠𐤭𐤠𐤭 𐤠𐤭𐤠𐤭𐤠 𐤠𐤭𐤠𐤭𐤠𐤭𐤠 𐤠𐤭𐤠𐤭𐤠𐤭𐤠 𐤠𐤭𐤠𐤭𐤠𐤭𐤠}$ , in Josephus *Ναβοπαλάσσαρος*, and in Ptolemy *Ναβοπολλασάρον*. In the case of the inscribed brick, *Cun. Ins. Vol. I, p. 5, No. xvii*,  $\text{𐤠𐤭𐤠𐤭}$ , *pal*, is used for the word son, and the same syllable is used in the word  $\text{𐤠𐤭𐤠𐤭 𐤠𐤭𐤠𐤭 𐤠𐤭𐤠𐤭}$ , *lib-pal-pal*, meaning grandson, or any other descent further removed than a son. From these examples I have come to the conclusion that, when in combination with other elements, the word *abil*, a son, drops its initial *a* and becomes *pil*, *bal*, or *pal*; and I have chosen the name Assurbanipal, generally used by English scholars, in preference to Asur-banī-habal, the form given by Dr. Oppert.



## TEXTS.


The principal texts relating to the genealogy and accession of Assurbanipal are Cylinder A, col. i, lines 1 to 50; Tablet K, 3050, which gives a very long account (an extract only from col. ii of this tablet is given); Cylinder B, col. i, lines 1 to 24 (lines 25 and 26 are lost, and lines 27 to end of introduction are identical with Cylinder A, col. i, lines 45 to 50); Tablet K, 2641, which appears to be a fragment of a letter from Assurbanipal to his father Esarhaddon; and an extract from the Sale Tablet K, 321.


## CYLINDER A, COLUMN I, LINES 1 TO 50.

1.  $\text{𐤠𐤭𐤠𐤭 𐤠𐤭𐤠𐤭𐤠 𐤠𐤭𐤠𐤭𐤠𐤭𐤠 𐤠𐤭𐤠𐤭𐤠𐤭𐤠 𐤠𐤭𐤠𐤭𐤠𐤭𐤠 𐤠𐤭𐤠𐤭𐤠𐤭𐤠 𐤠𐤭𐤠𐤭𐤠𐤭𐤠 𐤠𐤭𐤠𐤭𐤠𐤭𐤠}$   
 A - na - ku Assur-bani-pal bi-nu - tu Assurva Bilat  
*I am Assurbanipal, the progeny of Assur and Beltis.*

2.  $\text{𐤠𐤭𐤠𐤭𐤠 𐤠𐤭𐤠𐤭𐤠𐤭𐤠 𐤠𐤭𐤠𐤭𐤠𐤭𐤠 𐤠𐤭𐤠𐤭𐤠𐤭𐤠 𐤠𐤭𐤠𐤭𐤠𐤭𐤠 𐤠𐤭𐤠𐤭𐤠𐤭𐤠 𐤠𐤭𐤠𐤭𐤠𐤭𐤠 𐤠𐤭𐤠𐤭𐤠𐤭𐤠}$  3.  $\text{𐤠𐤭𐤠𐤭𐤠 𐤠𐤭𐤠𐤭𐤠𐤭𐤠}$   
 ablu sar rab - u sa Bit-rid - u - ti sa Assur  
 son of the great king of Bit-riduti. whom Assur

< >| <<< >||  <|< >|| <|< >|| >|> >|> >|> 4.  >||| >|  
 va Sin bil age ul - tu immi ruquti ni - bit sum  
*and Sin the lord of crowns, from remote days, the account*

I >|  >|| >| >|> >|| >|< 5. <|< >| - >|| >||  
 su iz - ku - ru a - na şar - u - ti va ina lib ummi  
*of his name had prophesied to the kingdom, and in the body*

I  >| <| >| >| >| >| >| 6. >| >| >| >|  
 su ib-nu-u a - na riu - ut Assur Samas Vul  
*of his mother, have made to rule Assyria. Shamash, Vul,*

< >| <|| >| <<< >| I >| <|| >|| >|| 7. >|< >| >|| >||  
 va Istar ina uzzi su-nu ke - e - ni ig - bu - u  
*and Ishtar, in their supreme power, commanded the*

>|| >|| >|| >|| >|| I 8. >| >| >| >| >| >| >|| >||  
 e - pis şarru - ti su Assur - aḥ-iddina şar Assur abu  
*making of his kingdom. Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, the father*








>| >| <| >| 9. >| >| >| < >| >|| >|| >|| >|| >|| >||  
 ba - nu-u a a-mat Assur va Bilat Ili ti - ik -  
*my begetter, the will of Assur and Beltis the Gods*










>|| I >|| >|| >|| >|| 10. >|| >|| >| < I >|| >||  
 - li su it - ta - li - id sa ig - bu-u su e - pis  
*his protectors he exalted, who commanded him to make*

>|| >|| >|| 11. >| >|| >| >|| >|| >|| >||  
 şaru - ti ya ina araḥ Airu araḥ He - a bil  
*my kingdom. In the month Iyyar the month of Hea the lord*

>|| >|| >|| >|| 12. >| <|| >| >| >|| >|| >||  
 te - ni - se - e - ti immu 12 immu magari se - sa sa  
*of mankind, on the 12th day, a fortunate day, the festival of*








>| >| >| 13. >| >|| >| >| >|| >|| >||  
 Gu - la ina e - pis pi - i mut - tal - li sa  
*Bel; in performing the important determination, which*

 14.        
 Assur                      Bilat                      Sin      Samas                      Vul                      Bel      Nabu  
*Assur,*                      *Beltis,*                      *Sin,* *Shamas,*                      *Vul,*                      *Bel,* *Nebo,*

15.     -  -   -  - 

Istar sa Ninua il - şar - rat Kit - mu - ri

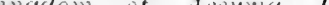

*Ishtar of Nineveh the divine queen of Kitmuri,*

16.         
Istar sa Arba - il Ninip Nergal Nusku  
*Ishtar of Arbela, Ninip, Nergal, and Nusku*

ig - bu-u                  u - pa - ħir                  nisi                  Assur                  zaħiri va  
commanded :              he gathered the men of Assyria, small and

rabati      18.    sa   tam - te    e - lit   va   sap - lit      19.    a - na  
*great,      and   of   the   upper   and   lower   seas;      to   the*

na - zir    zaḥri    šaru - ti    ya                      20.    va    arku - nu  
*setting apart* (i.e. *inauguration*) *of my kingdom,*                      ,     *and afterwards*

 21.   
 saru - ut                  Assur                  e - pe - es                  a - de - e        ni - is  
*the kingdom of Assyria; I ruled.*                  *The observances of*

22.

Ili                  rabati                  u - sa                  as - kir                  su-nu- ti                  u -  
*the great Gods,- I caused to be performed to them,                  I*

23. dan - ni - [na]      rak - șa - a - ti      ina      hidati  
*confirmed*      *the*      *covenants.*      *With*      *joy*      *and*

ri - sa - a - ti      24. e - ru - ub      [ki - rib]      pa - ru - nak - ti  
*shouting*      *I entered*      [*into*]      *the royal gardens*

25. mar-kas šaru - [ti sa Sin] - ahi - irba abu abu  
*the royal property of Sennacherib, the father of the father*

a-lid - di [ya] aplu šaru [rab- u sa] šaru - ut  
 [my] begetter, son of the [great] king, [who] ruled the

e - pu - su ina lib - bi \* \* a - sar [Assur - aḥ-iddina] abu  
*kingdom in the midst \* \* The place [Esarhaddon] the father*

ba - nu - u [a] ki - rib \* \* \* \* \* e - pu - su bi - lut  
 [my] begetter, within \* \* \* \* \* ruled the dominion

Assur Iz \* \* \* \* \* ba va kim - tu u -  
*of Assyria. Iz \* \* \* \* \* ba, and the family*

- rap - pe - [es] \* \* \* \* \* su tu sa - la \* \*  
*grew up \* \* \* \* \* su tu sa - la \* \**

[a - na - ku] Assur - bani - pal ki - rib - su a - ḥu - uz  
 [I] Assurbanipal within it, took care

ni - mi - qi Nabu kul - lat duppi saḍr - ru - ti sa  
*of the wisdom of Nebo, the whole of the inscribed tablets, of*

gi - mir dup - pa - a - ni ma - la kip va ah - zi su - nu  
*all the clay tablets, the whole of their mysteries and difficulties,*

a - ḥi - id al - gis ab - sa - le - e iz - bam ru - du  
 I solved, al gis ab sa le, powerful bows,







ya zab-tak ab-bu-šu-nu bu-šu-ris \* \* \* \*  
*the father my begetter, in order(?) I placed(?) them as* \* \* \* \* \*

8. Ili rabati ip-se-te ya damiqli ha-dis  
*The great Gods my good deeds joyfully*

ip-pal-šu va ina ki-bi-ti su-nu zir-ti u-sib  
*established, and by their high command I firmly sat on*

'la-a-bis ina kuzzu abi bani ya  
*the throne of the father my begetter.*

## CYLINDER B, COLUMN I, LINES 1 TO 24.


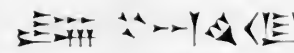
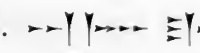
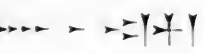
1. A-na-ku Assur-bani-pal šar rab-u šar  
*I am Assurbanipal the great king, the powerful king,*

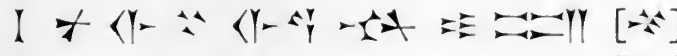
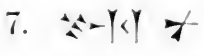
dan-nu šar kissat šar Assur šar kip-rat  
*the king of nations, king of Assyria, king of the four*



3. arba-te zi-it lib-bi Assur-aḥ-iddina šar kissat  
*regions; proceeding from the body of Esarhaddon, king of nations,*


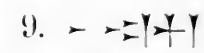
4. šar Assur sakkanaku Bab-il šar  
*king of Assyria, high priest of Babylon, king of*

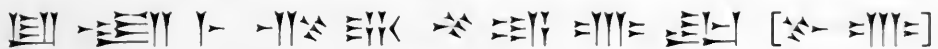
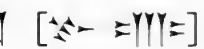
5. Sumiri va Akkadi lib-pal-pal Sin-aḥi-irba  
*the Sumir and Akkad; grandson of Sennacherib,*


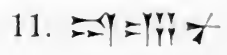
 I  6.    
 ʒar - kissat ʒar Assur Ili rabati ina puḫri  
*king of nations, king of Assyria. The great Gods in their*



 7.   
 su - nu si - mat damiq - te i - sim - [mu] uz - nu  
*assembly a good account have heard, and*


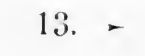
 8.   
 ra - pa - as - tu is - ru - ku - u - ni kul-lat duppani  
*attentive ears have given; and to all the*


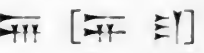
 9.   
 saḫr - ru - ti u - sa - ḫi - zu ka - ra - si ina puḫri  
*inscribed tablets they caused my mind to attend. In the*

   
 lu - li - mi zi - kar sum - ya u - sar - [bu - u]  
*assembly of the mighty, the renown of my name they magnified,*


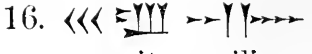
10.  11.   
 u - sar - bu - u ʒar - u - [ti - ya] du - un - nu  
*and enlarged [my] empire. Strength,*

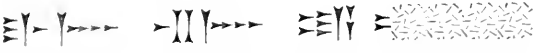

 12.   
 zik - ru - u - tu e - mu - qa - an ʒi - ra - [a - ti] u -  
*renown, and powerful forces they*



 13.   
 -sat - lim - u - ni ma - ta - a - ti la ma - gi - [ri] ina  
*increased to me, and countries disobedient into*


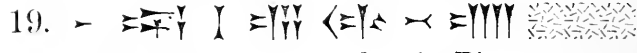
   
 qati ya im - nu - u - u - sam - zu in - [ni va]  
*my hand they gave. They strengthened(?) me and*



14.  15.   
 sa - an - gu - ti ih \* \* \* \* na - dan  
*the priests \* \* \* \* the*

 16.   
 zi - bi ya i - lu eli il(?) \* \* \* es - rit ili  
*girts of my fingers, the Gods over* \* \* \* *the temples of*

 17.   
 rabati beli ya \* \* \* \* \* bi sa  
*the great Gods my lords* \* \* \* \* \* *bi of*

 18.   
 ħuraz \* \* \* \* \* sukulli - - - - -  
*gold,* \* \* \* \* \* *winged figures(?)*,

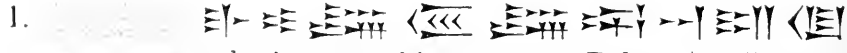
 19.   
 tim - mi \* \* \* \* \* ina babati su - un ul - ziz Bit \* \* \* \*  
*columns* \* \* \* \* \* *in their gates I set up, Bit* \* \* \* \*



20.  21.   
 Bit - mas masu Bit - bilat - matati Bit \* \* \* \* \* ki - ma  
*Bit mas masu, Bit bilat matati, Bit* \* \* \* \* \* *like a*


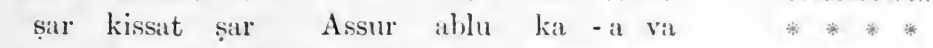
 22.   
 si - ši - it rab - u \* \* \* \* \* allat nap - sat \* \* \* \*  
*great* \* \* \* \* \* *lady of life* \* \* \* \*



23.  24.   
 e - li \* \* \* \* \* vad - duk \* \* \* \* \*  
*acer* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \*

## FRAGMENT OF A LETTER, K, 2641.

1.   
 \* \* \* \* \* rab - i šar kissat šar Bab - ili  
 \* \* \* \* \* *great, king of nations, king of Babylon,*



2.  3.   
 \* \* \* \* \* šar a - bi ya ki - bi va \* \* \* \* \* u  
 \* \* \* \* \* *the king my father in consort with me ;* \* \* \* \* \*

 4.   
 šar kissat šar Assur ablu ka - a va \* \* \* \*  
*king of nations, king of Assur, thy son, and* \* \* \* \*

 5.   
 rabati su \* \* \* \* dan-nis lu - u šalim - mu  
*his great* \* \* \* \* *much* *peace* \* \*

6.   7.  Rest of obverse lost.  
 \* \* \* \* a - ma \* \* \* \* ya  
 \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* my

On reverse :


1.    
 \* \* \* bani - pal \* \* \* \*  
 \* \* \* *banipal* \* \* \* *Assur*  
 \* \* \* \* *Assyria.*

The following is the most probable restoration of this fragment :

“ [To Esarhaddon] the great [king], king of nations, king of  
 “ Babylon, [king of the four regions,] the king my father in consort  
 “ with me ; [from Assurbanipal] the great [king], king of nations,  
 “ king of Assyria, thy son \* \* \* \* his great [men(?) to the king my  
 “ lord, may there be] much peace \* \* \* \* my \* \* \* \* .”

On reverse : “ [Palace of Assur]banipal [king of nations, king  
 “ of] Assyria.”

#### DATE ON SALE TABLET K.

  
 Ina arah abu immu 27 li - mu Mar - la - rim  
*In the month of Ab, the 27th day, the eponymy of Marlarmi, the*

tur - tan      Ku      \* \*    ina    tar - iz      Assur -bani -    pal      sar

Assur  
*king of Assyria.*

---

From these texts we learn that Assurbanipal was the son of Esarhaddon, and grandson of Sennacherib, and that he was made king of Assyria during his father's lifetime, on the 12th day of the month Iyyar (April), in the eponymy of Marlarim; which, according to the Assyrian eponym canon, was B.C. 668; and this year is further given in Ptolemy's canon as the last year of Esarhaddon. Ptolemy's list for this period being—

*Ασαριδίου*      *υγ'* [13 years]    *π'* [end 60 year N.]    B.C. 680-668.

*Σαοσδουχίου*    *χ'* [20 years]    *ρ'* [end 80 year N.]    B.C. 667-648.

Saosduchin, the successor of Esarhaddon at Babylon (according to Ptolemy), is the brother of Assurbanipal, usually called Saulmugina. He was made tributary king of Babylon, on the death of Esarhaddon (see Part ix).

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## PART II.

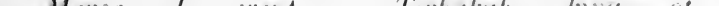
*The First Egyptian War.*










TEXTS.

The texts of this part of the history are. Cylinder A, col. i, line 51, to col. ii, line 60 ; Cylinder B, col. i, line 34, to col. ii, line 22. The text of Cylinder B being in most places the same as Cylinder A only the variant passages need notice ; the same may be said of Cylinder C, which has one variant passage, but otherwise agrees with Cylinder B. Cylinder E gives a different text, part only of which is preserved. Tablet K, 3083, has a passage connecting this text with that of the large Egyptian Tablets, K, 2675, and K, 228. Beside the Assyrian texts it is necessary here to give some notice of the Egyptian inscriptions bearing on the subject.

CYLINDER A, COLUMN I, LINE 51, TO COLUMN II, LINE 60.

51. I - na - mah - re - e gar - ri ya a - na Ma - gan  
*In my first expedition to Makan*

52.   
 va Mi - luḥ - ḥa lu - u - al - lik Tar - qu - u ṣar Mu - ṣur  
*and Meroe I went. Tirḥakah king of Egypt*




     53. 






Ku - u - ši                      sa    Assur -ah-iddina šar    Assur  
*and Ethiopia,*                      *of whom Esarhaddon king of Assyria, the*

𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 < 𐎶𐎵 <𐎶𐎵 I 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 54. 𐎶𐎵 < 𐎶𐎵  
 abu ba -nu-u a abikta su is -ku-nu va i -bi-lu  
*father my begetter, his overthrow had accomplished; and had*

𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 <𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 I 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 55. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
 mat šu va su - u Tar - qu - u da - na - an  
*taken possession of his country; and he Tirhakah, the power of*

𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 <𐎶𐎵 <𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
 Assur Istar va Ili rabati beli ya  
*Assur Ishtar and the great Gods my lords*

56. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 <𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 I  
 im - si va it - ta -gil a - na e - muq ra -ma- ni su  
*despised, and trusted to his own might.*

57. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 <𐎶𐎵 (𐎶𐎵) 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 <𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
 e - li šarri ke - (e) -pa-a-ni sa ki - rib  
*Of the kings and governors whom in the midst*

𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 <𐎶𐎵 58. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 <𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 <𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
 Mu - zur u -pa- ki -du abu ba -nu-u a a - na  
*of Egypt, the father my begetter had appointed;*

𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 <𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 (v. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵) 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 59. <𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 <𐎶𐎵  
 da -a- ki ḥab (v. ḥa - ba) -a - te va e - kim  
*to slay, plunder, and to capture*

(v. <𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵) 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 <𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 I 𐎶𐎵  
 (v. ki - nu) Mu - zur il - li - kan zir - us -su-un  
*Egypt, he came against them;*

60. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 I 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
 e - ru - uv -va u - sib ki - rib Mi - im - pi  
*he entered, and sat in Memphis, the*

61. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
 alu sa abu ba -nu- u a ik -su-du va a - na  
*city which the father my begetter had taken, and to the*

62. me - şir      Assur      u - tir - ra (v. ru)  
 boundaries      of      Assyria      had added. I was

63. al - la - ku    ha - an - du    ina    ki - rib    Ninua      il -  
 walking round in the midst of Ninerch,      and

64. -lik - av - va    u - sa - an - na - a    ya - a - ti      eli  
 one came and repeated [this] to me;      over

65. ip - se - e - ti    an - na - a - ti      lib - bi    i - gug  
 these things      my heart

(v. gu - ug)    va iz - za - ru - uḥ    ka - bi - ti      [ina  
 was bitter and much afflicted;      [by

67. ki - bit]    Assur va Istar    Assur - i - [tu]      ad - ke - e  
 the command] of Assur and the Goddess Assuritu      I

68. e - mu - ki    ya    zi - ra - a - ti      sa    Assur va  
 gathered my powerful forces,      which Assur and

69. Istar    u - mal - lu - u    qa - tu - u a      a - na    Mu - zur  
 Ishtar had placed in my hands.      To      Egypt

70. va Ku - u - ši    us - te - se - ra    mur - ra - nu      ina  
 and Ethiopia I directed the march;      in

71. mi - ti - iq    gar - ri    ya      22      şarri      sa  
 the course of my expedition      22      kings      of

[a - hi [tam - ti va qabal tam - ti] ka - li  
 the side of the [sea and the middle of the sea,] all

72. ardi da - [gil pa - ni ya] ina maḥ - ri ya  
 tributaries dependent [on me], to my presence

[il - lik - u - niv - va u - na - as - si - qu niri ya]  
 [came and kissed my feet].

74. ṣarri sa - a - tu - [nu] \* \* \* \* \* ina tam - ti  
 Those kings \* \* \* \* \* on sea

va na - ba - [li gar - ri - ti su - nu u - zaḥ - biṭ]  
 and land [their roads I took,]

76. ur - ḥu pa - da - nu \* \* \* \* \* a - na  
 the straight path \* \* \* \* \* for

na - ra - ru - ti ḥa - maḍ sa ṣarri ki - pa - a - ni  
 the entire aid (i.e. restoration) of the kings and governors

78. sa ki - rib Mu - zur ardi - (ni) da - gil pa - ni  
 who in the midst of Egypt (were) tributaries dependent on

ya 79. ur - ru - hi - is ar - de - e va al - lik  
 me; quickly I descended and went

a - di 80. Kar - ba - ni - ti Tar - qu - u ṣar  
 to Karbanit, Tirhakah king

81. *Mu - zur va Ku - u - ši ki - rib Mi - im - pi a - lak*  
*of Egypt and Ethiopia, in the midst of Memphis, of the*

*gar - ri ya is - me - e va a - na e - pis qabal*  
*progress of my expedition heard; and to make war,*

82. *kakki taḥaz a - na maḥ - ri ya id - ka - a*  
*fighting and battle, to my presence he gathered the*

83. *zabi taḥazi su ina tugul - ti Assur Istar va*  
*men of his army. In the service of Assur, Ishtar, and*

84. *Ili rabati beli ya in taḥaz zir rap - si*  
*the great Gods, my lords, on the wide battle field I*


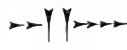






85. *as - ku - na abikta umman su Tar - qu - u ina ki - rib*  
*accomplished the overthrow of his army. Tirḥakah in the midst of*











*Mi - im - pi is - ma - a taḥ - te - e umman su*  
*Memphis, heard of the defeat of his army;*










86. *nam - ri - ri Assur va Istar iṣ - ḥu - pu su va*  
*the terror of Assur and Ishtar overcame him, and*













87. *il - li - ku maḥ - ḥu - ur me - lam - mi ṣar -*  
*he went back(?), my royal*





88. *u - ti ya ik - tu - mu su va sa u - za - ḥi - i - nu*  
*advance overwhelmed him, and they brought(?)*






 89. 


  
 in - ni Ili su pan mas-ki Mi - im - pi  
*to me(?) his Gods before my camp, Memphis*











  
 u - vaṣ- šir va a- na su - zu - ub naps- ti su  
*he abandoned, and to save his life*

90. 








  
 in - na - bit a- na ki - rib Ni - ha alu  
*he fled into Thebes. That city*





 91. 







  
 su - a - tu aṣ - bat umman ya u - se - rib u - se - sib  
*I took, my army I caused to enter and rest in*





  
 i - na lib - bi  
*the midst of it.*

92. 



























  
 Ni - ku - u ṣar Mi - im - pi va Ṣa - ai  
*Necho king of Memphis and Sais.*

93. 







  
 Ṣar - lu - da - ri ṣar Zi - hi - nu  
*Sarludari king of Pelusium(?).*

94. 









  
 Pi - sa - an - hu - ru ṣar Na - at - hu - u  
*Pisun-hor king of Natho.*















95. 







  
 Pa - aq - ru - ru ṣar (Pi) - sab - tu  
*Paqruru king of Pi-supt.*

96. 













  
 Pu - uk - ku - na - an - ni - ha - pi ṣar Ha - at - hi - ri - bi  
*Pukkuanni-hapi king of Athribis.*

97. | 𐎠𐎵 𐎠𐎫 𐎠𐎥𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎠𐎥𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎠𐎥𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎠𐎥𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎠𐎥𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎠𐎥𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎠𐎥𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎠𐎥𐎶𐎵𐎶  
 Na - aḥ - ke - e ṣar Hi - ni - in - si  
*Nech-ke king of Henins.*

98. | 𐎠𐎵 𐎠𐎥𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎠𐎥𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎠𐎥𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎠𐎥𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎠𐎥𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎠𐎥𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎠𐎥𐎶𐎵𐎶  
 Pu - du - bis - ti ṣar Za - ha - nu  
*Petubastes king of Tunis.*

99. | 𐎠𐎵 𐎠𐎥𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎠𐎥𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎠𐎥𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎠𐎥𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎠𐎥𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎠𐎥𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎠𐎥𐎶𐎵𐎶  
 U - na - mu - nu ṣar Na - at - ḥu - u  
*Unamunu king of Natho.*

100. | 𐎠𐎵 𐎠𐎥𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎠𐎥𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎠𐎥𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎠𐎥𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎠𐎥𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎠𐎥𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎠𐎥𐎶𐎵𐎶  
 Har - ši - ya - e - su ṣar Zab - nu - u - ti  
*Horsiesis king of Sebennytus.*

101. | 𐎠𐎵 𐎠𐎥𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎠𐎥𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎠𐎥𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎠𐎥𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎠𐎥𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎠𐎥𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎠𐎥𐎶𐎵𐎶  
 Bu - u - ai - va ṣar Bi - in - di - di  
*Buainva king of Mendes.*

102. | 𐎠𐎵 𐎠𐎥𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎠𐎥𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎠𐎥𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎠𐎥𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎠𐎥𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎠𐎥𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎠𐎥𐎶𐎵𐎶  
 Šu - ši - in - qu ṣar Bu - si - ru  
*Sheshonk king of Busiris.*

103. | 𐎠𐎵 𐎠𐎥𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎠𐎥𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎠𐎥𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎠𐎥𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎠𐎥𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎠𐎥𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎠𐎥𐎶𐎵𐎶  
 Tap - na - aḥ - ti ṣar Bu - nu - bu  
*Tnephachthus king of Bunubu.*

104. | 𐎠𐎵 𐎠𐎥𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎠𐎥𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎠𐎥𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎠𐎥𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎠𐎥𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎠𐎥𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎠𐎥𐎶𐎵𐎶  
 Pu - uk - ku - na - an - ni - ha - pi ṣar Aḥ - ni  
*Pukkunanni-hapi king of Akhni.*

105. | 𐎠𐎵 𐎠𐎥𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎠𐎥𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎠𐎥𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎠𐎥𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎠𐎥𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎠𐎥𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎠𐎥𐎶𐎵𐎶  
 Ip - ti - ḥar - de - e - su ṣar Pi - za - at - ti - ḥu - ru - un - pi - ku  
*Iptikhardesu king of Pazatti-hurunpiku.*

106. | 𐎠𐎵 𐎠𐎥𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎠𐎥𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎠𐎥𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎠𐎥𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎠𐎥𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎠𐎥𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎠𐎥𐎶𐎵𐎶  
 Na - aḥ - ti - ḥu - ru - an - si - ni ṣar Pi - sab - di - nu - ti  
*Necht-hor-ansini king of Pi-sabdinut.*

107. 𐎶 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
 Bu - kur - ni - ni - ip      𐎶𐎵      Pa - aḥ - nu - ti  
*Bukur-ninip      king of      Pachnut.*

108. 𐎶 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
 Zi - ḥa - a      𐎶𐎵      Si - ya - a - u - ut  
*Zikha      king of      Siyout.*

109. 𐎶 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
 La - mi - in - tu      𐎶𐎵      𐎶𐎵 - mu - ni  
*Lamintu      king of      Chemmis.*

110. 𐎶 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
 Is - pi - ma - a - ḍu      𐎶𐎵      Ta - ai - ni  
*Ispimathu      king of      Abydos.*

111. 𐎶 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
 Ma - an - ti - mi - an - ḥe - e      𐎶𐎵      Ni - ha  
*Munti-mi-anche      king of      Thebes.*

112. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
 𐎶𐎵      an - nu - ti      𐎶𐎵      ki - pa - a - ni  
*These      kings,      prefects,      and      governors,*

113. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
 sa      ki - rib      Mu - zur      u - pa - ki - du      abu  
*whom in the midst of Egypt, the father my begetter had*

𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 114. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
 ba - nu - u      a      sa      la      pa - an      ti - bu - ut      Tar - qu - u  
*appointed;      who before the advance of Tirhakah*

115. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
 pi - kit - ta      su - un      u - vas - se - ru      im - lu - u      zer  
*their appointments had left, and fled to the desert,*

116. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 117. 𐎶  
 u - tir      va - a - sar      pi - kit - ti      su - un      ina  
*I restored; and the places of their appointments      in*

✱ 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 118. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
 mas-gar-i su-un ap-kid šu-nu-ti Mu-zur  
 their divisions, I appointed them. Egypt and

𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 119. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
 Ku-u-ši sa abu ba-nu-u a ik-su-du a-na  
 Ethiopia, which the father my begetter had captured, again

𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 120. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
 es-su-ti az-bat mazirti e-li sa im-mi pa-ni  
 I took, the bonds more than in former days

120. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
 u-dan-nin va u-rak-ki-ša rak-ša-a-ti  
 I strengthened, and joined [the kings] in covenant.

121. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
 it-ti hu-ub ti ma-h-di sal-la-ti  
 With abundant plunder and much

𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 122. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
 ka-bit-ti sal-mi-is a-tu-ra a-na  
 spoil in peace I returned to

𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 123. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 (v. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵) 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
 Ninua arka-nu (v. ar-ka-a-nu) šarri  
 Ninerch. Afterwards all those kings

𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 124. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
 an-nu-ti ma-la ap-ki-du ina a-di ya  
 whom I had appointed sinned against me;

𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
 ih-du-u la iz-zu-ru ma-mit Ili rabati  
 they did not keep the oath of the great Gods.



-𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
 su - lum - mu - u ina bi - ri - in - ni lis - sa - kin va  
*"May an alliance by this treaty be established, and*

11. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 (v. 𐎶𐎵) 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
 ni - in - id (v. dag) - ga - ra a - ha - mis  
*we will help each other ;*

12. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
 mat a-he-en-na-a ni - zu - uz va ai ib - ba - si  
*the country on the other side we will strengthen, and may there not*

- 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 (𐎶𐎵) 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
 in bi - ri (-in) - ni sa-nu-uv -va be - luv a - na  
*be in this treaty any other lord." Against*

𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 15. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
 umman Assur e-muq bi-lu - ti - ya sa a - na  
*the army of Assyria the force of my dominion, which to*

𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
 kit - ri su - nu us - zi - zu is - te - ni - hu - u  
*their aid had been raised, they devised*

16. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
 a-mat limut - ti su - ut- saki ya a-ma-a- ti  
*a wicked plot. My generals of this plot*

17. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 18. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
 an - na - a - ti is - mu - u rak - be - e su un a - di  
*heard ; their messengers and*

𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
 sip - ra - a - ti su - nu iz - ba - tu - niv va e - mu - ru  
*their dispatches they captured, and saw*

19. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
 ip - sit sur - ra - a - ti su - un garri an - nu - ti  
*their seditious work. These kings*

20. iz - bat - u - niv - va ina bi - ri - ti parzil(?) is - qa - ti  
*they took; and in bonds of iron and fetters of*

parzil(?) 21. u - tam - mi - hu qati va niri ma-mit Assur  
*iron, bound their hands and feet. The oath of Assur*

22. ik - su - uş - şu - nu - ti va sa  
*king of the Gods took them who*

23. (ili) rabati  
*ih - du - u ina a - de - e (Ili) rabati*  
*sinned against the great (Gods);*

24. sa  
*da - ab - ti qa - tus su - un u - ba - hi - i va*  
*who had sought the good of their hands, and who*

25. nisi  
*e - pu - su şu - nu - ti du - un - qu va nisi*  
*had given them favours; and the people*

Şa - ai Bi - in - di - di Za - ha - nu  
*of Sais, Mendes, Zoan,*

26. [va şi - it] - ti alani ma - la it - ti  
*[and] the rest of the cities, all with*

27. a - mat limut - (ti) zaḥiri va  
*su - nu \* \* \* \* a - mat limut - (ti) zaḥiri va*  
*them \* \* \* \* evil design. Small and*

28. lu  
*rabati ina kakki u - sann - [ki - tu]*  
*great with the sword they caused to be destroyed*

𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 29. [𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵] 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
 la e - zi - bu ina lib - bi [pagari su]-nu i - lu - lu  
 did not leave in the midst. Their corpses they threw down

𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 30. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
 ina ga - si - si \* \* \* \* \* - du  
 in the dust, \* \* \* \* \* they

𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 31. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
 u - hal - li - bu dur ali šarani [an - nu] - ti  
 destroyed the towers of the cities. These kings, who

𐎶𐎵 (𐎶𐎵) 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 33. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
 sa limut - [ti] is - te - ni - hu - u a - na  
 had devised evil against

𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 [𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵] 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 (𐎶𐎵) 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
 ummani Assur bal - du - (uṣ) - ṣu - nu a - na  
 the army of Assyria, alive to

𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 33. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 [𐎶𐎵] 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
 Ninua a - di maḥ - [ri] ya u - bil - u - ni  
 Nineveh into my presence they brought.

34. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
 a - na Ni - ku - u \* \* \* \* \* tu \* \* \* \* \* ri - su - nu  
 To Necho \* \* \* \* \* of them,

35. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
 re - e - mu ar - si su va kit - ti \* \* \* \* \*  
 favour I granted him, and a covenant \* \* \* \* \*

36. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
 a - de - e eli sa maḥ - ri u - sa - tir va it - ti  
 observances stronger than before I caused to be restored, and with

𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 37. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
 su as - pur lu - bul - tu bir - mi u - lab - bi - su  
 him I sent. Costly garments I placed upon him.



𐎶 𐎶𐎵 [𐎶𐎵] 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 48. 𐎶𐎵𐎶 (v. 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶)  
 ina [Ha] - at - ha - ri - ba dābtu (v. ḏa - ab - tu)  
 in Athribes. Benefits and favours,

𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 49. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶  
 damqatu eli sa abi ba - ni ya u - sa - tir  
 beyond [those] of the father my begetter, I caused to restore,

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶𐎶 50. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶  
 va e - pu - uš - šu Tar - qu - u a [na Ku - u - ši]  
 and gave to him. Tirhakah to [Ethiopia]

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶 51. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶  
 in - nab - tu su - ru - bat kakki Assur bil ya  
 fled; the might of the soldiers of Assur my

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶 52. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶  
 iṣ - ḥup su va il - lik simti mu - si su  
 lord overwhelmed him, and he went to his place of night (i.e. died).

53. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶  
 arka - nu Ur - da - ma - ne - e ablu bilati su  
 Afterwards Rudammon, son of his consort,

54. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 55. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶  
 u - sib ina kuzzu ṣaru - ti su Ni - ha  
 sat on his royal throne. Thebes

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 56. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶  
 alu dan - nu - ti su iṣ - kun u - paḥ - ḥi - ra  
 his fortified city he made, and he gathered

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 57. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 [𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶]  
 el - lat ṣu a - na mit - ḥu - zi unmaui ya [abli]  
 his forces to fight my army, [the sons]

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 58. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶  
 Assur sa ki - rib Mi - im - pi it - ka - a  
 of Assyria; who within Memphis gathered in the

𐎧𐎵𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎢𐎶 [su] 59. 𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎢𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎢𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎢𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎢𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎢𐎶  
 qa - bal [su] \* \* \* \* va e - ši - ir va iz - ba - ta  
*midst of [it].* \* \* \* \* and besieged and took

𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎢𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎢𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎢𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎢𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎢𐎶 60. 𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎢𐎶 [il] -  
 mu - uz - za su - [un] \* \* \* \* [il] -  
*the whole of them.* \* \* \* \* \*

𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎢𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎢𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎢𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎢𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎢𐎶  
 lik - av - va ig - ba - a ya - a - ti  
*came and told me.*

VARIANT PASSAGE, CYLINDER B, VARIANT FOR COLUMN I,  
 LINES 65 TO 77, CYLINDER A.

a. 𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎢𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎢𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎢𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎢𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎢𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎢𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎢𐎶  
 lib - bi i - gug va iz - za - ru - uh ka - bat - ti  
*My heart was bitter, and much afflicted.*

b. 𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎢𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎢𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎢𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎢𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎢𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎢𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎢𐎶 c. 𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎢𐎶  
 ad - ke - e e - mu - ki ya zirati sa  
*I gathered my powerful forces, which*

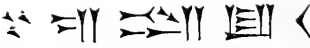

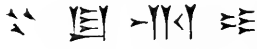











𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎢𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎢𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎢𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎢𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎢𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎢𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎢𐎶 d. 𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎢𐎶  
 Assur va Istar u - mal - lu qa - tu - u - a a - na  
*Assur and Ishtar had placed in my hands. For*

𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎢𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎢𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎢𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎢𐎶 &c.  
 na - ra - ru - ti ha - mad, &c.  
*the restoration of, &c.*

ADDITIONAL PASSAGE, CYLINDER C, FOR COLUMN I,  
 LINES 70, 71, CYLINDER A.




a. 𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎢𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎢𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎢𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎢𐎶  
 Ina mi - ti - iq gar - ri ya  
*In the course of my expedition*



- r.     
E - re - e - šu      šar      Ši - il - lu - u  
*Eresu*      king of      *Soli,*
- s.     
Da - ma - šu      šar      Ku - ri - i  
*Damastes*      king of      *Curium,*
- t.     
Rum - mi - šu      šar      Ta - mi - zi  
*Rummisu*      king of      *Tamissus,*
- u.     
Da - mu - u - ši      šar      Am - ti - ḥa - da - az - ti  
*Damusi*      king of      *Ammochosta,*
- v.     
U - na - ša - gu - šu      šar      Li - di - ni  
*Unasagus*      king of      *Lidini,*
- w.     
Pu - zu - zu      šar      Up - ri - dis - sa  
*Puzuzu*      king of      *Aphrodisia,*
- x.     &c.  
puḥur      22      Šarri      sa &c.  
making      22      kings of,      &c.

Cylinders B and C omit the last fourteen Egyptian kings, Column i, lines 98 to 111, Cylinder A.

CYLINDER B, COLUMN II, LINES 1 TO 12, VARIANT PASSAGE FOR  
COLUMN II, LINES 25 TO 50, CYLINDER A.

1.     
Sa - ai      Bi - in - di - di      Za - ha - nu  
*Sais,*      *Mendes,*      and      *Zoan,*





𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵  
 alani malî - ru - u - ti u - nak - kir va  
 names of the cities he abolished, and

12. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵  
 [a - na] es - su - u - te is - ku - na ni - bi - iṣ ṣu - un  
 anew he appointed their names ;

13. (𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵) 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵  
 ardi su a - na ṣaru - ti san - u - ti  
 his servants to the kingdoms and governments

(v. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵) 14. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵  
 (v. sa - nu - u - ti) [eli su] - nu - u - te  
 [over] them

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 15. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵  
 u - pa - ki - da ina lib - bi bilat man - da - at - tu  
 he appointed in the midst; taxes and tribute





𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 16. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵  
 bi - lu - ti su [san - ti u - sam - ma] u - kin  
 to his dominion, a yearly sum he fired

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 17. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵  
 zi - ru - us - su - un \* \* \* \* as - li qaq - qu - ru  
 upon them; \* \* \* \* ground



18. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵  
 \* \* \* \* \* Me - em - pi  
 \* \* \* \* \* Memphis.

EXTRACT FROM K, 3083, WHICH CONNECTS LINE 15 OF THIS  
FRAGMENT WITH K, 2675, AND K, 228.

a. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵  
 bilat man - da - at - tu bi - lu - ti \* \* \* \*  
 Taxes and tribute to [his] dominions \* \* \* \*

- b.  55 zalam şaru - ti su - nu \* \* \* \* \*  
55 of their royal statues \* \* \* \* \*
- c.  li - i - tu ki - sit - ti qati su va \* \* \* \* \*  
the glory acquired by his hands and \* \* \* \* \*
- d.  ina ma - ha - za - a - ni e - ziri sa ki - rib \* \* \* \* \*  
in the cities and temples, which are in the midst \* \* \* \* \*
- e.  ul - tu abu ba - nu - u a im [nu - u] \* \* \* \* \*  
from the father my begetter revolted \* \* \* \* \*
- f.  Tar - qu - u ba - lu Ili a [na] \* \* \* \* \*  
Tirhakah against the Gods to \* \* \* \* \*

K, 2675, AND K, 228. OBERSE LINES 2 TO 69.

2.  Tar - qu - u ba - lu Ili a - na e - kim  
Tirhakah against the Gods, to capture
-  3.   
Mu - zur us - tam - za - a a - na da - [a - ki] \* \* \*  
Egypt made a gathering to fight. The evil
-  ma - ru - us - tu sa abu ba - nu - u a e - pu - su - us ul  
\* \* \* which the father my begetter had done him, he
-  4.   
ip - pal - kit ina lib - bi su da - na - an Assur bel  
forgot not in his heart; the power of Assur my lord he

ya e - mi - is va it - ta - gil a - na e - nuq  
*despised, and trusted to his own*

ra -ma- ni su il - li - kan va ki - rib Mi - im - pi  
*might. He came and into Memphis*

e - ru - uv -va alu su - a - tu u - tir ra -ma-nu su  
*he entered, and that city he restored to himself.*

6. e - li nisi Assur sa ki - rib Mu - zur  
*Against the men of Assyria, who within Egypt*

ardani da - gil pa - ni ya sa Assur -ah-iddina  
*were tributaries dependent on me, whom Esarhaddon*

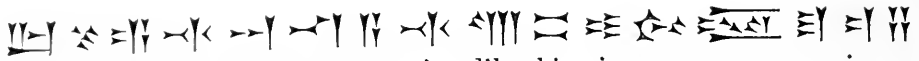
šar Assur abu ba -nu- u a a - na šar - u - ti  
*king of Assyria, the father my begetter, to the kingdoms had*

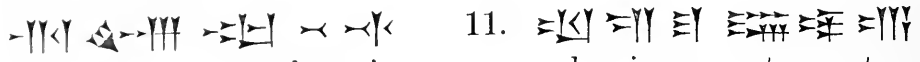

ip - ki - du ina lib - bi a - na da - a - ki ha - ba - a - te  
*appointed in the midst [of it], to slay, plunder, and*

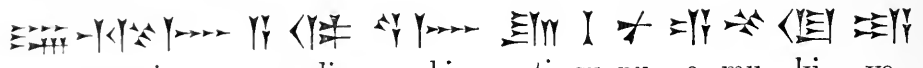
sa - la - a - li u - ma - he - e - ra um - mān su  
*spoil he sent forth his army.*

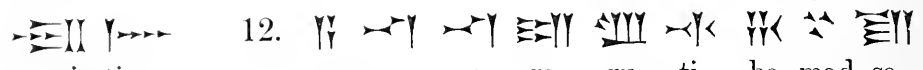

9. al - la - ku ha - an - du ina ki - rib Ninua il - li - kan  
*I was walking round in the midst of Nineveh and one came*

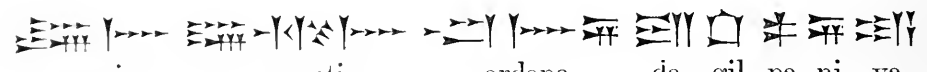
va u - sa - an - na - a ya - a - pi (v. si) 10. e - li  
*and repeated [this] to me, over*


  
 ip -se- e - ti    an - na - a - ti    lib - bi    i - gu - ug    va iz-za  
*these things my heart was bitter and much*

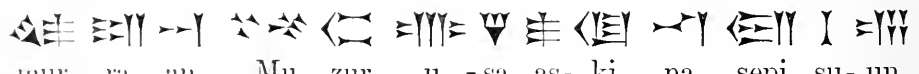
 11.   
 - ri - ilī    ka - bat- ti    al - si - ma    tur - tan  
*afflicted. I collected the tartan*

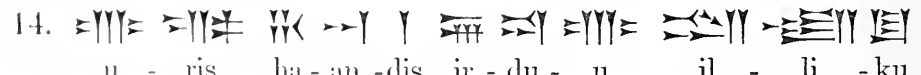
  
 sanuti    a - di    zabi    qati su-nu e-mu- ki ya  
*prefects and the troops in their hands, my powerful*

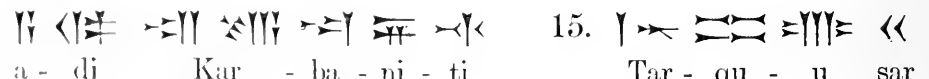
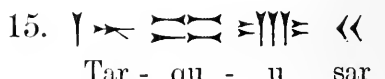
 12.   
 zirati    a - na    na - ra - ru - ti    ḥa - maḍ sa  
*forces, for the restoration of the*

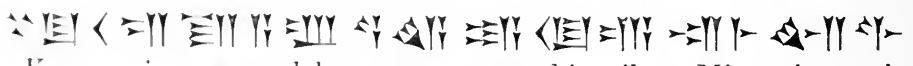
  
 sarri    sanuti    ardana    da - gil pa-ni ya  
*kings and prefects tributaries dependent on me;*

13.   
 ur - ru - ut    de - e - mu    as - kun    su - nu - ti  
*an urgent command I gave them, the*

  
 mur - ra - an    Mu - zur    u - sa - as - ki - na    sepi su - un  
*road to Egypt I caused their feet to take;*

14.   
 u - ris    ḥa - an - dis    ir - du - u    il - li - ku  
*earnestly and joyfully they marched down and went*

 15.   
 a - di    Kar - ba - ni - ti    Tar - qu - u    ṣar  
*to Karbanit. Tirhakah king of*

  
 Ku - u - ṣi    sa a - lak umnan ya    ki - rib    Mi - im - pi  
*Ethiopia who, of the progress of my army in the midst of Memphis*

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 (v. 𐎶𐎵) 16. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
is - me- e (v. va) a- na e - pis qabal kakku taḥaz  
heard and to make war fighting, and battle he

𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
umman su id - ka - a iṣ - di - ra me- eḥ - rit umman ya  
gathered his army and set them in array in front of my army.

17. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
ina tu - gul- ti Assur Sin Ili rabati beli  
In the service of Assur, Sin and the great Gods my lords,

𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
ya a- lik i - di ya ina taḥaz ṣeri abikta su  
who march before me; in the battle field his overthrow they

𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
is - ku - nu zabi tug- la - ti su u - ra - aṣ - ši - bu ina  
accomplished, his fighting men they destroyed with the

𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 19. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
kakki sa - a - su ḥat- tu pa - luḥ - tu im - kut su  
sword. Himself, terrible fear struck him,

𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
va il - li - ku maḥ - ḥu - ur ul - tu  
and he went back. From

𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
Mi - im - pi alu - ṣaru - ti su a - sar tu - gul - ti su  
Memphis his capital city and his fortified place,

𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
uz - ṣi va a - na su - zu - b na - pis - ti su  
he went out, and to save his life in a

𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
ki - rib elap ir - kip va karaṣ ṣu  
ship he sailed; his camp he

u -vas- sar va e-dis ip-par- sid va ki-rib Ni-ha  
*abandoned and fled alone, and into Thebes*

e - ru - ub 23. elappi qa - ra - bi ma- la it - ti su  
*he entered. All the ships of war with him,*

zabi tahaz u -zab- bi - tu ina qati 24. a - mir  
*the fighting men took in hand. A messenger*

bu - uş - şu - rat ha- de - e - da - a ut - ra ig - ba - a  
*of good tidings hastily(?) returned, and*

ya - a - si 25. rab - sak sanuti şarri  
*told me. The rabshakeh, prefects, and kings,*

e - bir nar ardi da - gil pa - ni ya kali su - un  
*across the river, tributaries dependent on me all of them*

26. a - di e - mu - ki su - ru elappi su - nu şarri  
*with their forces and their ships; the kings*

Mu - zur ardi da - gil pa - ni ya a - di e - mu - qi  
*of Egypt, tributaries dependent on me, with their forces*

su - nu elappi su - nu 28. a - na hul - lu - uq  
*and their ships; to drive*

Tar - qu - u ul - tu ki - rib Mu - zur va Ku - u - ş i  
*Tchekch out of Egypt and Ethiopia,*



35. *va ip - ru - zu ma-mit sun*      *dab - ti abi ba - ni*  
*and broke their pledges;      the benefits of the father my*

*ya im - su va lib - ba su-nu- ti ik - bu-ud limut - tu*  
*beyetter they despised, and their hearts devised evil;*

36. *da -bab - ti sur- ra - a - ti id - bu- bu va mi - lik*  
*seditionous words they spoke, and evil*

*la ku - sir im - li -ku ra -man su- un um -ma*  
*council they counselled among themselves; thus :*

*Tar - qu - u ul - tu ki - rib Mu-zur i - na - kit - u*  
*"Tirhakah from the midst of Egypt is cut off,*

38. *va at - tu - ni a - sa - ba ni mi - i -nu e - li*  
*and to us our seats are numbered." Unto*

*Tar - qu - u šar Ku - u - ši a - na sa - kan a - de - e*  
*Tirhakah king of Ethiopia to make agreement*

*va ša - li - mi u - ma - he - e - ru rak - be - e su - un*  
*and alliance, they directed their messengers*

39. *un - ma šu - lum - mu - u ina bi - ri - in - ni*  
*thus : "May an alliance by this treaty be*

*lis - sa - kin (v. kin) va ni - in - dag - ga - ra a - ḥa - mis*  
*established, and we will help each other;*



iz - bat - u - niv - va ina bi - ri - ti parzil(?) is - qa - ti parzil(?)  
*they took, and in bonds of iron and fetters of iron*

u - tam - mi - hu qati va niri ma mit Assur šar  
*they bound their hands and feet. The oath of Assur king*

Ili ik - su - uš - šu - nu - ti va sa iḥ - du - u  
*of the Gods took them, who sinned*

ina a - de - e rabati ḡa - ab - ti qa - tus - su - un  
*against the great ones (i.e. Gods), who had sought the good*

u - ba - hi - i va sa e - pu - su - šu - nu - ti du - un - qu  
*of their hands and who had given them favours;*

48. va - nisi alani ma - la it - ti su - nu  
*and the people of all the cities with them*

ik - bu - du a - mat limut - ti zaḥiri va  
*devised an evil design. Small and*

rabati ina kakki u - sam - [ki - tu] \* \* \* \* \* la  
*great with the sword they destroyed \* \* \* \* \* did not*

e - zi - bu ina lib - bi va sa - a - su - un a - di  
*leave in the midst; and them to*

[Ninua] a - di mah - ri ya ub - lu - ni va  
*[Ninurh] to my presence they brought; and*



 a - na - ku   
 
 Assur - bani - pal   
 

 mun - sa -   
 
 ah  
*I,                      Assurbanipal                      bestower                      of*









dam - qa - a - ti      52.    a - na    Ni - ik - ku - u    arad  
favour:                    to        Necho        the        tributary

da - [gil pa - ni ya sa abu banu-u a a - na şar - u] - te  
dependent [on me, whom the father my begetter to the kingdom]

**ᐃᑦ ᐱᑦ ᐅᑦ ᓂᑦ ᓄᑦ ᐆᑦ ᐇᑦ ᐈᑦ ᐉᑦ ᐊᑦ ᐋᑦ ᐌᑦ ᐍᑦ**      53. **ᐎᑦ ᐏᑦ ᐑᑦ ᐒᑦ ᐓᑦ**  
ip - ki - du ina                  Kar - belu -matati                  re - e - mu  
*haul appointed in Kar-belmatati.*                  *Favour I*

ar - si su va kit - ti [am(?)] di - iş - şu va  
granted him, and a covenant I appointed him,

54.    ¶¶ <¶# =¶¶ ¶¶¶ ¶¶¶¶    ¶¶¶¶    ¶¶¶¶    ¶¶¶¶    ¶¶¶¶    ¶¶¶¶    ¶¶¶¶    ¶¶¶¶  
          a - de - e      ni - is          Ili               eli      sa     maḥ - [ri  
*the observances of the Gods stronger than before* [I

55.  -  -  va  -  su]  -  lib -  bu  
*caused to be restored, and with him] I sent. His heart*

u - sar - ɰi - iʃ    ʃu    va    lu - [bul - ti    bir - ni  
*I caused to rejoice, and [costly] garments*

u - lab] - bi - şu va al - lu huraṣ ṣi-mat ṣaru - ti  
*I placed upon him, and ornaments of gold, his royal image*

su as- kun su      57. semiri ħuraz u -[rak- ki- şa]  
*I made for him,      rings of gold I fastened on*

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 58. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵  
 sangu-ti su gir sib-bi sa aḥ - zu su ḥuraḥ  
 his feet, a scimitar, the sheath of which was gold,

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 59. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵  
 ni-bit sum ya \* \* \* \* a-din su ruqubi  
 the glory of my name \* \* \* \* I gave him. Chariots,

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵  
 susi pari a-na [ṣaru] - ti  
 horses, and mules for his kingdom

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 60. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵  
 su a - kiṣ - ṣu su - ut - saki ya  
 I appointed; my generals as

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵  
 sanuti a-na [Mu-ṣur it] - ti su as-pnr  
 governors to [Egypt] with him I sent.

61. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵  
 a-sar abu ban-u a ina Sa-ai sa  
 The place where the father my begetter, in Sais the name

[𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵] 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 62. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵  
 [Kar-belu] matati sum su a-na ṣar-u-te ip-kid-du  
 of which is Kar-belmatati; to the kingdom had appointed

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 63. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵  
 su a-na mas-gan-i su u - tir su da-ab-tu  
 him, to his district I restored him. Benefits and

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵  
 damqatu eli sa abi ba-ni ya u-sa-tir va  
 favours, beyond those of the father my begetter, I caused to restore, and

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 64. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵  
 e-pu-uṣ ṣu va Nabu-se-zib-an-ni ablu su  
 gave to him: and Neboshazban his son

ina [Ha]-at - ha - ri - ba      65.      sa      Li - mir -  
 in      Athribes      which      Limir-

pa - te - ši - assur sum su a - na      şar - u - te as - kun  
*patesi-Assur is its name; to the kingdom I appointed.*

66.      Tar - qu - u şar      Ku-u-şi      hat - tu pu - luḥ - ti  
*Tirhakah      king of Ethiopia,      terrible      fear*

bil - ti ya iṣ - ḥu - up su va il - lik simti mu - si su  
*of my power overwhelmed him, and he went to his place of night.*

67.      Ur - da - ma - ne - e ablu bilati su ina      kuzzu su u - sib  
*Rudammon      son of his consort, sat on his throne*



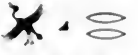














va u - ma - hi - ir ma - a - tu      68.      Ni - ha a - na  
*and governed the country.      Thebes he*





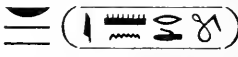


dan - nu - ti su is - kun      u - pa - ḥir el - lat su  
*fortified for himself, and gathered his forces*

69.      a - na e - pis qabal va tabaz      eli umman ya  
*to make war and battle, against my army*

kakki su u - sat - ba - a iṣ - ba - ta mur - ra - na  
*his soldiers he brought forward, and took the road.*



meaning "long live the king." Sarludari was king of Zihinu, which probably represents Pelusium, the Hebrew  $\text{פֶּלֶש}$ , the modern Tineh. The third king was Pisan-huru, hier.  Pishen-hor, he was ruler of Nathu, the island of Natho, hier.  Natru? The fourth king, Paqruru, hier.  Paqrar, had his seat at Pisabtu, hier.  Pi-supt. The fifth name, Pukkunannihapi, is evidently Egyptian, but has not yet been identified; he was king of Hathi ribi, or Athribis, hier.  Hattahirab. The sixth king has likewise an unidentified Egyptian name, he ruled at Henins, Heb.  $\text{חֲנַנִּים}$ . The seventh king is Pudu-bisti, or Petubastes, hier.  Petsibast; he ruled at Zahan, or Tanis, Hebrew  $\text{צָהַן}$ , modern San. The eighth king, Unamuna, ruled at Nathu, either another place called Natho or hier.  Ntahru (Dendera). The ninth name is Har-si-yesu, hieroglyphic  Hor-si-esi; he was king of Zabnuti or Sebennytus. The tenth name is Buaiva, hier.  Buaiuva; he ruled at Bindidi, or Mendes, hier.  Bentat. The eleventh king, Şuşinq, or Shishak, hier.  Sheshanq; ruled at Busiru (Busiris), hier.  Pi-osiri-nebt. The twelfth king, Tap-naht, or Thephachthus, hier.  Taf-necht; ruled at Bunubu, probably hier.  Bunbun. The thirteenth name, Pukkunannihapi, is the same as the fifth; his seat was at Ahni, possibly Heracleopolis. The next king Ipti-har-desu, ruled at Pizatti-hurunpiku. The fifteenth monarch has the name Nahti-huru-ansini; the first two elements in this name are equivalent to hier.  Necht-har; he was king of Pisabdinut. Bukur-ninip, the sixteenth king, was an Assyrian; he ruled at Paḥnuti. The position of the four last cities is doubtful, they were probably in Middle Egypt. Ziḥa, the seventeenth monarch, ruled at Siyaut, or Siyout, hier.  Saut. The next king, Lamintu, had his seat at Himuni or Chemmis, heir.  Hem-men. The nineteenth king was Ispi-maḍu of Taini, Thin,

or Abydos, hier.  Teni. The name of the last king, Manti-mi-anhe, contains the Egyptian elements Muntu-mi-anche, but has not yet been found as a proper name; he was king of Niha, Heb. נִיחָ, Thebes; this name has not been found in hieroglyphics, the usual Egyptian names of Thebes being  Apt, and  Uab; but the Hebrew and Assyrian name for this city, resembles  Nahai, one of the names of Egypt. The narrative describes the intrigues carried on by these restored monarchs, led by Necho, Sarludari, and Paqruru, after the return of Assurbanipal to Nineveh, and their attempt to revolt, in conjunction with Tirhakah; the destruction of some of the cities, the captivity of Necho and Sarludari, and Tirhakah's death. The Egyptian inscriptions, and especially the Apis Stele, give us the reign of Tirhakah as immediately preceding that of Psammitichus (the son of Necho king of Sais). One Apis Stele gives us the following: "Year 20, 12th month, day 20, of the reign of Psammitichus, an apis died, and was buried in year 21, 2nd month, day 25; he was born year 26 of Tirhakah, and was enthroned in Memphis, 8th month, day 9, making 21 years." According to this tablet, there were about twenty-seven years between the accession of Tirhakah and that of Psammitichus. The successor of Tirhakah, called by the Assyrians Urdamane, has been identified with the Egyptian royal name  Rut-ammon; but another identification has been brought forward since; Dr. Haigh has suggested that Urdamane is the   Nut-mi-ammon, or Ammon-mi-nut, whose history as given on the stele discovered by M. Mariette in 1863, has a remarkable likeness to the Assyrian account of Urdamane. According to this tablet Nut-mi-ammon, when he came to the throne, had a dream, in which he saw two serpents, one on his right hand, the other on his left; and this dream was explained to him to mean that, as he possessed the south (Ethiopia), he should take the north (Egypt). He then set out at the head of his army, and marched to Elephantina; from there he went to Thebes, and from Thebes he approached Memphis. Here the chiefs of Lower Egypt disputed his advance; but, after defeating them, he entered the city in

triumph. While he stayed at Memphis, Paqrar, or Paqruru, the chief of Pi-supt, the leader of the rulers of Lower Egypt came and made submission to him.\* Paqruru of Pisupt is evidently the fourth king in the Assyrian list, and the capture of Memphis by Ammon-mi-nut parallels the taking of Memphis by Urdamane. The cuneiform name of the Nile, Yaruhu, is the equivalent of the Hebrew יַאֲרֹךְ. Exodus i, 22.

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\* A translation of this Stele by M. Maspero is given in "Revue Archeologique," Mai, 1868.

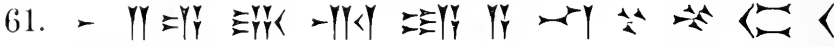


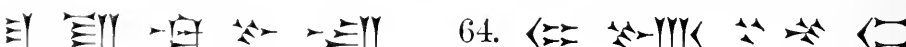

## PART III.

*The Second Egyptian War.*

## TEXTS.

There are only two texts of this part of the history ; one is the text common to Cylinders A, B, and C, found on Cylinder A, col. ii, lines 61 to 83 ; the other is K, 2675, obverse line 70 to reverse line 5.

## CYLINDER A, COLUMN II, LINES 61 TO 83.

61.  Ina sanute gar - ri ya a - na Mu - zur va  
In my second expedition, to Egypt and
-  Ku - u - ši us - te - es - se - ra mur - ra - nu  
Ethiopia I directed the march.
-  Ur - da - ma - ne - e a - lak gar - ri ya is - me - e  
Rudammon of the progress of my expedition heard,
-  va sa ak - bu - šu me - šir Mu - zur  
and that I had crossed over the borders of Egypt.
-  Mi - im - pi u - vas - sir va a - na su - zu - ub  
Memphis he abandoned, and to save his

napisti su in - na - bit a - na ki - rib Ni - ha  
*life he fled into Thebes.*

66. šarri sanuti ki - pa - a - ni sa  
*The kings, prefects, and governors, whom*

ki - rib Mu - zur as - ku - nu ina šati ya  
*in Egypt I had set up, to my presence*

il - lik - a - niv - va u - na - as - si - qu sepi ya  
*came, and kissed my feet.*

68. arku Ur - da - ma - ne - e mur - ra - nu az - bat  
*After Rudammon the road I took;*

69. al - lik a - di Ni - ha alu dan - nu - ti  
*I went to Thebes, the strong city;*

70. ti - ip taḥaz ya dan - ni e - mur va Ni - ha  
*the approach of my powerful army he saw, and Thebes*

u - vas - sir in - na - bit a - na Ki - ip - ki - pi  
*he abandoned, and fled to Kipkip.*

72. alu su - a - tu a - na ši - ḥir - ti su ina tugulti  
*That city (Thebes) the whole of it, in the service of*

Assur va Istar ik - su - da qata ai kasap ḥuraṣ  
*Assur and Ishtar my hands took; silver, gold,*

ni-sik- ti abni sa-su e -kal su ma- la ba-su- u  
*precious stones, the furniture of his palace, all there was;*

74. lu-bul- tu bir -mi kitui susi rabati  
*garments costly and beautiful(?), great horses,*

75. nisi zik - ra va sin-nis 2 tim -mi  
*people male and female, two lofty*

zirati pi - ti - ig (v. tig) za-ħa- le - e ib -bi  
*obelisks covered with beautiful carving,*

77. \* \* 100 bilati paṣaḥ su-nu man-za- az bab ezar  
*\* \* hundred talents their weight, set up before the gate of a temple,*

78. [it] - ti su-nu aṣ - ṣuḥ va al - qa - a a - na  
*with them I removed, and brought to*

Assur [sal-lat ṣu] ina la mi- ni as - lu - la  
*Assyria. [Its spoils] unnumbered I carried off.*

al - tu ki - rib Ni - ha [eli  
*From the midst of Thebes, over*

Mu - zur] Ku- u - ṣi kakki ya  
*Egypt and Ethiopia; my servants I*

[u] - sam - ri - ir va [as - tak] - kan li - i - tu  
*caused to march, and I acquired glory.*

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 83. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵  
 it - ti ma - da - te sal - mis a - tu - ra a - na  
*With the tributes peacefully I returned to*

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵  
 Ninua alu bilu - ti ya  
*Nineveh, the city of my dominion.*

K, 2675, OBVERSE LINE 70 TO REVERSE LINE 5.

70. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵  
 Ina tu - gul - ti Assur Sin va Ili rabati  
*In the service of Assur, Sin, and the great Gods*

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 71. 𐎶𐎵  
 beli ya ina tahaz zer rap - si abikta su  
*my lords; in the wide battle field his overthrow they*

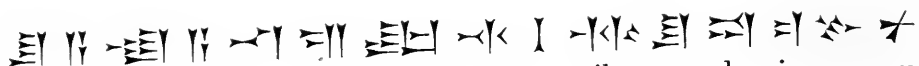
𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵  
 is - ku - nu u - par - ri - ru el - lat su  
*accomplished, and dispersed his forces.*


72. 𐎶𐎵  
 Ur - da - ma - ne - e e - dis ip - par - sid va e - ru - ub  
*Rudammon fled alone, and entered*

𐎶𐎵  
 a - na Ni - ha alu šaru - ti su ma - lak arah  
*into Thebes, his capital city. A journey of a month*


𐎶𐎵  
 10 immi ur - hi pa - as - qu - u - ti arku su  
*and ten days on a difficult road, after him*

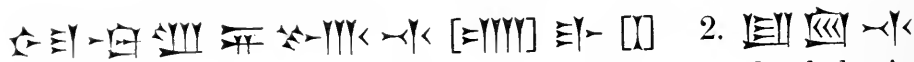

𐎶𐎵  
 il - li - ku a - di ki - rib Ni - ha alu  
*they went, to the midst of Thebes. That city,*

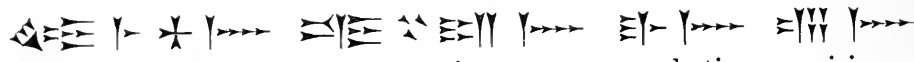

  
 su - a - tu a - na ši - ħir - ti su ik - su - du iṣ - pu - nu
   
*the whole of it they took, and swept*





  
 a - bu - bis
   
*like a storm.*

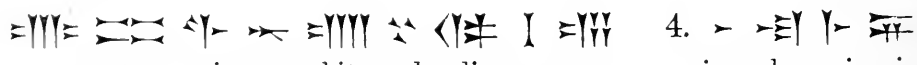
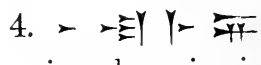
## REVERSE.


1. 
  
 Huraz kasap e - par mat su ni - sik - ti abni
   
*Gold and silver, the dust of his country, precious stones,*

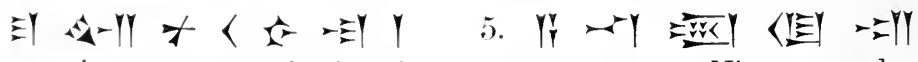


 2. 
  
 ma - ak - ru ni - sir - ti [e - ] kal [su] lu - bul - ti
   
*valuables(?) treasures of his palace, garments*


  
 bir - mi kitui susi rabati nisi
   
*costly and beautiful(?), great horses, people*


 3. 

  
 zikir va sinnis \* \* \* za - a - ti pa - ge - e
   
*male and female, bazati(?) page and*


 4. 
  
 u - qu - pi tar - bit sad - di su un ina la mi - ni
   
*uqupi, the products of their mountains, without number,*


  
 a - na mu - hu - de - e ultu ki - rib - e su u - se - zu - niv
   
*in abundance from the country they brought out*


 5. 
  
 va im - nu u sal - la - tis a - na Ninua alu
   
*and counted as spoil. To Ninereh, the city*

𐎶 𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶  
 bi - lu - ti ya sal - mis is - su - niv - va  
*of my dominion, peacefully they came up, and*

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶  
 u - na - as - si - qu sepi ya  
*kissed my feet.*

In the two versions of the second Egyptian war there is the same difference as that noticed in the former part. One narrative (Cylinder A) representing Assurbanipal as invading Egypt a second time, and driving out Urdamane; while K, 2675, represents Urdamane to have been defeated and expelled by the Assyrian forces in Egypt.





𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 93. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵  
maḥ - ri ya Ya - ḥi - mil - ki ablu [su] tugulti(?)  
*presence; [to] Yahimelek [his] son, the sub-*

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 94. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵  
ma - ti si - mat la e - bi - ra is - te - nis u - sat - [gil]  
*mission of the country and an unequalled present(?) at once he entrusted,*

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 95. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵  
a - na e - pis ardu - ti - ya binat ṣu va binti  
*to make obeisance to me. His daughter and the daughters*

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 96. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵  
aḥi su it - ti tir - ḥa - ti ma - ha - aṣ - ṣi  
*of his brothers, with their great dowries, I*

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 97. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵  
am - ḥar su re - e - mu ar - si su va ablu ṣi - it  
*received. Favour I granted him, and the son proceeding*

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 98. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 (v. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵) 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵  
lib - bi su u - tir va ad - din (v. a - din) su  
*from his body I restored and gave him.*

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 99. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵  
Ya - ki - in - lu - u ṣar A - ru - ad - da  
*Yakinlu king of Arvad,*

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 100. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵  
a - sib qabal tam - ti sa a - na ṣarri  
*dwelling in the midst of the sea, who to the kings*

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 101. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵  
abi ya la kan - su ik - nu - sa a - na niri  
*my fathers was not submissive, submitted to my yoke,*

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 102. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵  
ya binat ṣu it - ti nu - dun - ne - e  
*his daughter, with many gifts,*

103. ma- ha - [di] a - na e - pis sal tuglu - u - ti a - na  
 for a concubine to

Ninua u - bil - av - va u - na - as - siq sepi ya  
 Ninereh he brought, and kissed my feet.

104. Mu - gal - lu şar Tab - alu sa it - ti şarri  
 Mugallu king of Tubal, who against the kings

105. abi ya is(?) pu(?) da - za - a - ti bi - in - tu  
 my fathers made(?) depredations, the daughter

106. zi - it lib - bi su va tir - ha - ti  
 proceeding from his body, and her great

ma - ha - aş - şı a - na e - pis sal tuglu - u - ti  
 dowry, for a concubine

107. a - na Ninua u - bil - av - va u - na - as - siq  
 to Ninereh he brought, and kissed

108. sepi ya e - li Mu - gal - li  
 my feet. Over Mugallu

109. susi rabati man - da - at - tu mat - ti  
 great horses and the tribute of the country the

110. sam - ma u - kin zir - us - su Şa - an - da - sar - mi  
 sum I fixed upon him. Sandasarmi of

111. Hi-lak - ka - ai      sa a - na      şarri      abi ya  
*Cilicia,*      *who to the kings my fathers*

112. la ik - nu - su      la i - su - ðu      ab - sa - an su - un  
*did not submit,*      *and did not perform their pleasure,*

113. bintu zi - it      lib - bi su it - ti nu - dun - ne - e  
*the daughter proceeding from his body, with many*

114. ma - ha - di a - na      e - pis sal - tuglu - u - ti  
*gifts, for a concubine*

115. a - na      Ninua      u - bil - av - va      ù - na - as - siq  
*to Nineveh he brought, and kissed*

116. sepi ya      ul - tu      Ya - ki - in - lu - u      şar  
*my feet. From Yakinlu king of*

117. A - ru - ad - da      e - mi - du      mata su  
*Arvad, I took away his country.*

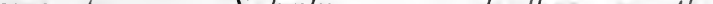
A - zi - ba - ha - al      A - bi - ba - ha - al  
*Azibahal, Abibahal,*












118. A - du - ni - ba - al      Şa - pa - di - ba - al      Pu - di - ba - al  
*Adonibahal, Sapadibahal, Pudibahal,*

119. Ba - ha - al - ya - su - pu      Ba - ha - al - ھا - nu - nu  
*Bahaliyasup, Bahalhanun,*

63


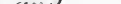

120. 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤𐎥𐎦𐎧𐎨𐎩𐎪𐎫𐎬𐎭𐎮𐎯𐎰𐎱𐎲𐎳𐎴𐎵𐎶𐎷𐎸𐎹𐎺𐎻𐎼𐎽𐎾𐎿𐏀𐏁𐏂𐏃𐏄𐏅𐏆𐏇𐏈𐏉𐏊𐏋𐏌𐏍𐏎𐏏𐏐𐏑𐏒𐏓𐏔𐏕𐏖𐏗𐏘𐏙𐏚𐏛𐏜𐏝𐏞𐏟𐏠𐏡𐏢𐏣𐏤𐏥𐏦𐏧𐏨𐏩𐏪𐏫𐏬𐏭𐏮𐏯𐏰𐏱𐏲𐏳𐏴𐏵𐏶𐏷𐏸𐏹𐏺𐏻𐏼𐏽𐏾𐏿𐐀𐐁𐐂𐐃𐐄𐐅𐐆𐐇𐐈𐐉𐐊𐐋𐐌𐐍𐐎𐐏𐐐𐐑𐐒𐐓𐐔𐐕𐐖𐐗𐐘𐐙𐐚𐐛𐐜𐐝𐐞𐐟𐐠𐐡𐐢𐐣𐐤𐐥𐐦𐐧𐐨𐐩𐐪𐐫𐐬𐐭𐐮𐐯𐐰𐐱𐐲𐐳𐐴𐐵𐐶𐐷𐐸𐐹𐐺𐐻𐐼𐐽𐐾𐐿𐑀𐑁𐑂𐑃𐑄𐑅𐑆𐑇𐑈𐑉𐑊𐑋𐑌𐑍𐑎𐑏𐑐𐑑𐑒𐑓𐑔𐑕𐑖𐑗𐑘𐑙𐑚𐑛𐑜𐑝𐑞𐑟𐑠𐑡𐑢𐑣𐑤𐑥𐑦𐑧𐑨𐑩𐑪𐑫𐑬𐑭𐑮𐑯𐑰𐑱𐑲𐑳𐑴𐑵𐑶𐑷𐑸𐑹𐑺𐑻𐑼𐑽𐑾𐑿𐒀𐒁𐒂𐒃𐒄𐒅𐒆𐒇𐒈𐒉𐒊𐒋𐒌𐒍𐒎𐒏𐒐𐒑𐒒𐒓𐒔𐒕𐒖𐒗𐒘𐒙𐒚𐒛𐒜𐒝𐒞𐒟𐒠𐒡𐒢𐒣𐒤𐒥𐒦𐒧𐒨𐒩𐒪𐒫𐒬𐒭𐒮𐒯𐒰𐒱𐒲𐒳𐒴𐒵𐒶𐒷𐒸𐒹𐒺𐒻𐒼𐒽𐒾𐒿𐓀𐓁𐓂𐓃𐓄𐓅𐓆𐓇𐓈𐓉𐓊𐓋𐓌𐓍𐓎𐓏𐓐𐓑𐓒𐓓𐓔𐓕𐓖𐓗𐓘𐓙𐓚𐓛𐓜𐓝𐓞𐓟𐓠𐓡𐓢𐓣𐓤𐓥𐓦𐓧𐓨𐓩𐓪𐓫𐓬𐓭𐓮𐓯𐓰𐓱𐓲𐓳𐓴𐓵𐓶𐓷𐓸𐓹𐓺𐓻𐓼𐓽𐓾𐓿𐔀𐔁𐔂𐔃𐔄𐔅𐔆𐔇𐔈𐔉𐔊𐔋𐔌𐔍𐔎𐔏𐔐𐔑𐔒𐔓𐔔𐔕𐔖𐔗𐔘𐔙𐔚𐔛𐔜𐔝𐔞𐔟𐔠𐔡𐔢𐔣𐔤𐔥𐔦𐔧𐔨𐔩𐔪𐔫𐔬𐔭𐔮𐔯𐔰𐔱𐔲𐔳𐔴𐔵𐔶𐔷𐔸𐔹𐔺𐔻𐔼𐔽𐔾𐔿𐕀𐕁𐕂𐕃𐕄𐕅𐕆𐕇𐕈𐕉𐕊𐕋𐕌𐕍𐕎𐕏𐕐𐕑𐕒𐕓𐕔𐕕𐕖𐕗𐕘𐕙𐕚𐕛𐕜𐕝𐕞𐕟𐕠𐕡𐕢𐕣𐕤𐕥𐕦𐕧𐕨𐕩𐕪𐕫𐕬𐕭𐕮𐕯𐕰𐕱𐕲𐕳𐕴𐕵𐕶𐕷𐕸𐕹𐕺𐕻𐕼𐕽𐕾𐕿𐖀𐖁𐖂𐖃𐖄𐖅𐖆𐖇𐖈𐖉𐖊𐖋𐖌𐖍𐖎𐖏𐖐𐖑𐖒𐖓𐖔𐖕𐖖𐖗𐖘𐖙𐖚𐖛𐖜𐖝𐖞𐖟𐖠𐖡𐖢𐖣𐖤𐖥𐖦𐖧𐖨𐖩𐖪𐖫𐖬𐖭𐖮𐖯𐖰𐖱𐖲𐖳𐖴𐖵𐖶𐖷𐖸𐖹𐖺𐖻𐖼𐖽𐖾𐖿𐗀𐗁𐗂𐗃𐗄𐗅𐗆𐗇𐗈𐗉𐗊𐗋𐗌𐗍𐗎𐗏𐗐𐗑𐗒𐗓𐗔𐗕𐗖𐗗𐗘𐗙𐗚𐗛𐗜𐗝𐗞𐗟𐗠𐗡𐗢𐗣𐗤𐗥𐗦𐗧𐗨𐗩𐗪𐗫𐗬𐗭𐗮𐗯𐗰𐗱𐗲𐗳𐗴𐗵𐗶𐗷𐗸𐗹𐗺𐗻𐗼𐗽𐗾𐗿𐘀𐘁𐘂𐘃𐘄𐘅𐘆𐘇𐘈𐘉𐘊𐘋𐘌𐘍𐘎𐘏𐘐𐘑𐘒𐘓𐘔𐘕𐘖𐘗𐘘𐘙𐘚𐘛𐘜𐘝𐘞𐘟𐘠𐘡𐘢𐘣𐘤𐘥𐘦𐘧𐘨𐘩𐘪𐘫𐘬𐘭𐘮𐘯𐘰𐘱𐘲𐘳𐘴𐘵𐘶𐘷𐘸𐘹𐘺𐘻𐘼𐘽𐘾𐘿𐙀𐙁𐙂𐙃𐙄𐙅𐙆𐙇𐙈𐙉𐙊𐙋𐙌𐙍𐙎𐙏𐙐𐙑𐙒𐙓𐙔𐙕𐙖𐙗𐙘𐙙𐙚𐙛𐙜𐙝𐙞𐙟𐙠𐙡𐙢𐙣𐙤𐙥𐙦𐙧𐙨𐙩𐙪𐙫𐙬𐙭𐙮𐙯𐙰𐙱𐙲𐙳𐙴𐙵𐙶𐙷𐙸𐙹𐙺𐙻𐙼𐙽𐙾𐙿𐚀𐚁𐚂𐚃𐚄𐚅𐚆𐚇𐚈𐚉𐚊𐚋𐚌𐚍𐚎𐚏𐚐𐚑𐚒𐚓𐚔𐚕𐚖𐚗𐚘𐚙𐚚𐚛𐚜𐚝𐚞𐚟𐚠𐚡𐚢𐚣𐚤𐚥𐚦𐚧𐚨𐚩𐚪𐚫𐚬𐚭𐚮𐚯𐚰𐚱𐚲𐚳𐚴𐚵𐚶𐚷𐚸𐚹𐚺𐚻𐚼𐚽𐚾𐚿𐛀𐛁𐛂𐛃𐛄𐛅𐛆𐛇𐛈𐛉𐛊𐛋𐛌𐛍𐛎𐛏𐛐𐛑𐛒𐛓𐛔𐛕𐛖𐛗𐛘𐛙𐛚𐛛𐛜𐛝𐛞𐛟𐛠𐛡𐛢𐛣𐛤𐛥𐛦𐛧𐛨𐛩𐛪𐛫𐛬𐛭𐛮𐛯𐛰𐛱𐛲𐛳𐛴𐛵𐛶𐛷𐛸𐛹𐛺𐛻𐛼𐛽𐛾𐛿𐜀𐜁𐜂𐜃𐜄𐜅𐜆𐜇𐜈𐜉𐜊𐜋𐜌𐜍𐜎𐜏𐜐𐜑𐜒𐜓𐜔𐜕𐜖𐜗𐜘𐜙𐜚𐜛𐜜𐜝𐜞𐜟𐜠𐜡𐜢𐜣𐜤𐜥𐜦𐜧𐜨𐜩𐜪𐜫𐜬𐜭𐜮𐜯𐜰𐜱𐜲𐜳𐜴𐜵𐜶𐜷𐜸𐜹𐜺𐜻𐜼𐜽𐜾𐜿𐝀𐝁𐝂𐝃𐝄𐝅𐝆𐝇𐝈𐝉𐝊𐝋𐝌𐝍𐝎𐝏𐝐𐝑𐝒𐝓𐝔𐝕𐝖𐝗𐝘𐝙𐝚𐝛𐝜𐝝𐝞𐝟𐝠𐝡𐝢𐝣𐝤𐝥𐝦𐝧𐝨𐝩𐝪𐝫𐝬𐝭𐝮𐝯𐝰𐝱𐝲𐝳𐝴𐝵𐝶𐝷𐝸𐝹𐝺𐝻𐝼𐝽𐝾𐝿𐞀𐞁𐞂𐞃𐞄𐞅𐞆𐞇𐞈𐞉𐞊𐞋𐞌𐞍𐞎𐞏𐞐𐞑𐞒𐞓𐞔𐞕𐞖𐞗𐞘𐞙𐞚𐞛𐞜𐞝














121.    
 abli      Ya - ki - in - lu - u   a - sib qabal tam- ti  
*sons of                      Yakinlu,                      dwelling in the midst*

122.          122.    
ul - tu qabal tam- ti e -su- niv- va it - ti  
*of the sea, from the midst of the sea arose, and with*

ta - mar - ti su-nu ka - bit - tu      124. il - li -ku-niv -va  
*their numerous presents came and*

u - na - as - si    qu    sepi    ya    125.    A - zi - ba - ha - al  
*kissed                    my    feet.                    Azibahal*


 126. 
  
 ha-dis ap-pa-lis va                      a-na      sar -u- ti                      A- ru - ad - da  
*gladly I received, and*                      to the kingdom of                      Arvad




127. 










as - kun                      A - bi - ba - ha - al                      A - du - ni - ba - al  
*appointed.*                      *Abibahal,*                      *Adonibahal,*

ᱥᱟᱨ ᱦᱚᱱᱚᱛ ᱦᱚᱱᱚᱛ ᱦᱚᱱᱚᱛ ᱦᱚᱱᱚᱛ  
 Sa - pa - di - ba - al  
*Sapadibahal,*

COLUMN III.

1. Pu - di - ba - al Ba - ha - al - ya - su - pu  
*Pudibahal, Bahalyasup,*



12. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 [𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵] 𐎶𐎵  
 rak - bu su [is - pu - ra a - na sa - ha - al  
*his messenger [he sent, to pray for*

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 13. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 [𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵]  
 salim - mi ya] suttu an - ni - [tu sa e - mu - ru]  
*my friendship. That dream [which he saw],*

14. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵  
 ina qati a - mir su is - pur - av - va u - sa - an -  
*by the hand of his envoy he sent, and repeated*

[𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵] 15. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵  
 [na ya - a - ti] ul - tu lib - bi im - mi sa iz - ba - tu  
*[to me]. From the midst of the day when he took the*

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 [𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵] 16. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 (𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵) 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
 niru [šaru - ti ya] Gi - mir - (ra) - ai  
*yoke of [my kingdom], the Cimmerians,*

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 [𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵] 18. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵  
 mu - da - al - li - pu nisi [su] sa la  
*rulers of [his] people, who did not*

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 18. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵  
 ip - tal - la - hu abi ya va at - tu - u - a  
*fear my fathers and me, and*

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 19. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵  
 la iz - ba - tu niru šaru - ti ya ik - su - ud ina  
*did not take the yoke of my kingdom, he captured, in*

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 20. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵  
 tugul - ti Assur va Istar Ili beli ' ya ul - tu  
*the service of Assur and Ishtar the Gods my lords. From the*

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 (𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵) 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 (𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵) 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵  
 lib - (bi) niri sa Gi - mir - (ra) - ai  
*midst of the chiefs of the Cimmerians,*



𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎶 𐎶 30. 𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶  
 is - pur va a - na - ku as - me - e va u - sal - li  
*he sent; and I heard [of it], and prayed to*

𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 31. 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶  
 Assur va Istar um - ma pa - an nakiri su pa - gar su  
*Assur and Ishtar thus: "Before his enemies his corpse*

𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 32. 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶  
 li - na - di va lis - su - u - ni ner - pad dui(?) su  
*may they cast, and may they carry captive his attendants."*

𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 33. 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶  
 ki - i sa a - na Assur am hu - ru is - li \* \* pa - an  
*When thus to Assur I had prayed, he requited me. Before*

𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 34. 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶  
 nakiri su pa - gar su in - na - di va is - su - u - ni  
*his enemies his corpse was thrown down, and they carried captive*

𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 35. 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶  
 ner - pad - dui(?) su Gi - [mir] - ai sa ina ni - bit  
*his attendants. The Cimmerians whom by the glory*

𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 36. 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶  
 sum ya sa - pal su ik - bu - su id - pu - [ku va]  
*of my name he had trodden under him conquered and*

𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 37. 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶  
 is - pu - nu gi - mir mati su \* \* \* su ablu su u - sib  
*swept the whole of his country \* \* \* su (Ardys) his son sat on*

𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 38. 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶  
 ina kuzzu su ip - sit limut - ti sa ina ni - is  
*his throne, that evil work at the lifting up*

𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 38. 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶  
 qati ya Ili ti - ik - li ya ina pa - an  
*of my hands, the Gods my protectors in the time of the*

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 (v. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵) 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 39. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵  
 abi bani (v. ba - ni) su u - sap - ri - ku ina qati  
*father his begetter had destroyed. By the hand*

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 40. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵  
 a - mir su is - pur - av - va iz - ba - tu niri  
*of his envoy he sent [word] and took the yoke*

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵  
 šaru - ti ya um - ma šar sa Ilu i - du su at - ta  
*of my kingdom thus: "The king whom God has blessed art thou;*

41. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 [𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵] 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵  
 abu-u a ultu [ka] il - lik va limuttu is - sa - kin  
*my father from [thee] departed, and evil was done*

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 42. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 (𐎶𐎵)  
 ina pa - ni su ya - a - ti ardu hat - tu ka mat ban - ni - (i)  
*in his time; I am thy devoted servant, and my people*

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵  
 ma - la su - da ab - sa - an ka  
*all perform thy pleasure.*

CYLINDER B, COLUMN II, LINE 54, TO COLUMN III, LINE 4,  
 VARIANT FOR CYLINDER A, COLUMN II, LINE 98, TO COLUMN III,  
 LINE 42.

54. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵  
 u - tir va a - ri - im su hal - zui  
*I restored and favoured him. The towers*

55. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵  
 sa eli Ba - ha - li šar Zur - ri  
*which over against Bahel king of Tyre*

56. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵  
 u - rak - ki - su ab - tur ina tam - ti va  
*I had raised, I pulled down; on sea and*

na - bal - li      57. gar - ri - ti su ma - la u - zab - bi - tu  
lund      all his roads which I had taken I

ab - ti      58. ma - da - at - ta su ka - bit - tu am - har su  
opened ;      his abundant tribute I received ;

59. sal - mis a - tu - ra a - na Ninua alu belu - ti ya  
peacefully I returned to Nineveh, the city of my dominion.

63. ma - al - ki qabal tam - ti va şarri a - sib  
Kings in the midst of the sea, and kings dwelling

sa - de - e sa - qu - u - ti      62. da - na - an ip - se - ti ya  
in the lofty mountains,      these my mighty

an - na - a - ti      63. e - mu - ru va ip - la - hu bel - u - ti  
deeds      saw, and feared my power.

64. Ya - ki - in - lu - u şar A - ru - u - a - da  
Yakinlu      king of      Arrad,

65. Mu - gal - lu şar Tab - a - la      66. şa a - na şarri  
Mugallu      king of      Tubal,      who to the kings

abi ya la kan - su      67. ik - nu - su a - na niri ya  
my fathers were not submissive,      submitted to      my yoke.

68. binti      69. zi - it lib - bi su - nu va  
The daughters proceeding from their bodies,      and



ta - nar - ti su - nu ka - bit - tu il - li - ku - niv - va  
*their numerous presents came and*

80. u - na - as - si - qu sepi ya A - zi - ba - ha - al  
*kissed my feet. Azibahal*

ha - dis ap - pa - lis va a - na şar - u - ti A - ru - ad - da  
*gladly I received, and to the kingdom of Arrad*

as - kun 83. A - bi - ba - al A - du - ni - ba - al  
*appointed Abibahal and Adonibahal;*

84. lu - bul - ti bir - mi \* \* \* \* semiri \* \* \* \*  
*costly clothing \* \* \* \* rings \* \* \* \**

85. ina maḥ - ri ya \* \* \* \* 86. Gu - ug - gu şar  
*in my presence \* \* \* \* Gyges king of*

Lu - ud - di 87. na - gu - u sa ni - bir - ti ab - ba  
*Lydia, a district which is across the sea,*

as - ru ru - u - qu 88. sa şarri abi ya la  
*a remote place, of which the kings my fathers had not*

is - mu - u zik - ri sum su 89. ni - bit şaru - ti ya  
*heard speak of its name. The account of my grand*

kap - ti ina suttu u - şap - ri va Assur I lu ba - nu a  
*kingdom in a dream was related to him by Assur, the God my creator,*



ka - bit - ti      u - se - bi - la      4.      a - di      maḥ - ri      ya  
*presents,      he      sent      to      my presence*

(a - tam - ma - ru      da - na - an      Assur      Ilu su)  
*(I      saw      the      power      of      Assur      his God).*

## K, 2675, REVERSE, LINES 13 TO 31.

13.      Gu - gu      ṣar      Lu - ud - di      na - gu - u  
*Gyges      king of      Lydia,      a district*

ni - bir - ti      ab - ba      as - ru      ru - u - qu      14.      sa  
*across the      sea,      a      remote place,      of which*

ṣarri      a - li - kut      maḥ - ri      abi      ya      la  
*the kings      going      before      me,      my fathers, had not*

is - mu - u      zik - ri      sum su      15.      ni - bit      ṣaru - ti      ya  
*heard speak of its name.      The account of my great kingdom*

kap - ti      ina      suttu      u - sap - ri      su va      Assur      Ilu  
*in a dream was related to him by Assur, the God*

ba - nu - u      a      16.      un - ma      sa      Assur - bani - pal      ṣar  
*my creator,      thus:      "Of Assurbanipal king*

Assur      ḥi - suḥ - ti      Assur      ṣar      Ili      bel  
*of Assyria, the beloved of Assur king of the Gods, lord*



u - na - as - siq    sepi    ya    22.    Mu - gal - li    sar  
*kissed*                      *my feet,*                      *Mugallu*                      *king of*

☆ (blank) 𐀀 𐀁 𐀂 𐀃 𐀄 𐀅 𐀆 𐀇 𐀈 𐀉 𐀊 𐀋 𐀌 𐀍 𐀎 𐀏 𐀐 𐀑 𐀒 𐀓 𐀔 𐀕 𐀖 𐀗 𐀘 𐀙 𐀚 𐀛 𐀜 𐀝 𐀞 𐀟 𐀠 𐀡 𐀢 𐀣 𐀤 𐀥 𐀦 𐀧 𐀨 𐀩 𐀪 𐀫 𐀬 𐀭 𐀮 𐀯 𐀰 𐀱 𐀲 𐀳 𐀴 𐀵 𐀶 𐀷 𐀸 𐀹 𐀺 𐀻 𐀼 𐀽 𐀾 𐀿  
 (blank) a - sib ɣar - sa - a - ni sa - di pa - as - qu - u - ti  
 (blank) dwelling in the forests and rugged mountains,

23.   
 sa a - na şarri abi ya kakki  
*who against the kings my fathers had sent fighting men,*

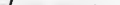

24.

sit - pu - ru    c - tap - pa - lu    da    za - a - ti    ki - rib  
*and            had            increased            depredations,            within*

mati su ɣat - ti im - qut su va pu - luɣ - ti ʃaru - ti ya  
*his country fear struck him, and the terror of my kingdom*

is - hup su va      25. ba - lu e - pis qabal kakki tuhaz  
overwhelmed him.      Without making war, fighting, and battle.

a - na      Ni-mua      is - pu -      rav - va      u - zal - la - a  
to      Ninerch      he      sent,      and      submitted to


 26. 
  
 bi - lu - u - ti                      susi                      rabati



[ma- da] - at - tu    na - dan   mat - ti   su   u - kin   zi - ru - us - su  
*the tribute given by his country I fixed upon him.*

27.    I -I<|<<(E) E>III> >>>>> >>>>> >>>>> >>>>> >>>>>  
          Ik     ki - lu - u          şar               Ar     - u - a - da     a-sib  
          *Ikkilu*              *king of*                *Aread,*            *davelling*





These texts differ in some important points; the earliest one, K, 2675, does not mention either the submission of Tyre, the tribute of Sandasarmi of Cilicia, or the revolt of Gyges and Psammitichus. Cylinder B, which was written during the war with Saulmugina, describes the submission of Tyre, but omits the Cilician tribute and revolt of Gyges and Psammitichus. All these events are narrated on Cylinder A, which was written later than either of the other texts. From these facts, and the statement that Miluhha (Ethiopia) revolted with Saulmugina (Cylinder A, col. iv, l. 35), I judge that the revolt of Gyges and Psammitichus took place at the time of the general rising against Assyria, in which Saul-mugina the king's brother was concerned. The fragment of Cylinder E is part of an account of the reception of the envoy of Gyges king of Lydia. (Pisamilki king of Egypt is the Psammitichus of the Greeks, hier.

 Psametik). One copy of Cylinder A writes this name , Tu-sa-mi-il-ki; the first character here is so evidently a mistake that I have not inserted it as a variant. On Tablet K, 3402, the two Egyptian wars having been given as one, the war with Bahal of Tyre is called the second expedition, instead of the third.

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## PART V.

*The Conquest of Karbit.*

## TEXTS.

The texts of this expedition are Cylinder B, col. iii, lines 5 to 15 ; K, 2675, reverse, lines 6 to 12 ; and a fragment of Cylinder E, lines 1 to 10.

## CYLINDER B, COLUMN III, LINES 5 TO 15.

5. [𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶] 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶  
[Ina arbe- e gar] - ri ya a - na Kar-bat  
[In my fourth] expedition to Karbat










6. [𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶  
[ki - rib Ha- le] - e - ha - az - ta lu - u al - lik  
in Halehastal I went.



















7. [𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶  
[Ta - an - da - ai] niru su-nu ana sarri  
[Tandai] their chief to the kings

















𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 8. [𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶  
abi ya [la kit - nu - su a - na] niri va nisi  
my fathers [had not been submissive to] the yoke, and the men





















𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 9. [𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶  
a - si - bu - ti Kar - bat [ka - ay - an  
dwelling in Karbat [constantly] were

















𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶  
ah] - ta - nab - ba - tu hu - bu - ut mati ya mut - ba - la  
carrying off the plunder of my country.












(v. ) 10. [  ]       
 (v. li) [ina tugulti] Assur Bel va Nabu  
*[In the service] of Assur, Bel, and Nebo,*

11. [    ]               
 [Kar-bat al - mi ak] - su - ud as - lu - la sal - lat su  
*[Karbat I besieged,] I captured, I carried off its spoil.*



















12. [    ]      13. [   ]    
 [Ta - an - da - ai] niru su-nu [bal - du - su  
*[Tandai] their chief [alive*

















                     
 ina qa - ti az - bat va] al - qa - a a - na Assur  
*in hand I took, and] brought to Assyria;*





















14. [  ]       15. [ ]       
 [nisi sa] la as - lu - lu [i - na ki - rib]  
*[the people] whom I had not carried off [into the midst of]*

            
 Mu-zur u - sa - az - bit  
*Egypt I caused to be taken.*

K, 2675, REVERSE, LINES 6 to 12.

6. [  ]                 
 Kar-bat sa ki - rib Ha- le - e - ha- az - ta  
*Karbat, which in Halehazta*

      7. [ ]          
 na - da - ta su-bat su nisi a-sib lib su eli  
*is situated, the people dwelling in it, to*

                     
 sadi su-nu mar - zu - u - ti tak - lu va la pit - lu - hu  
*their rugged mountains trusted, and feared not the*

8. *bi-lut* *Assur* *Ta-an-da-ai* *niru* *su-nu*  
*power of Assyria.* *Tandia* *their chief,* *who*

*sa a-na* *šarri* *abi* *ya la* *kit-nu-su a-na*  
*to the* *kings* *my fathers was not submissive to the*

9. *ni-i-ri* *hu-bu-ut* *mati* *ya* *mut-ba-la*  
*yoke,* *the plunder of my country*

*ka-ay-an* *ih-ta-nab-ba-tu* *u-sah-ri-bu*  
*constantly* *they carried off,* *and wasted*

10. *na-me-e su* *as-su ip-se-e-ti* *an-na-a-ti*  
*its produce.* *About* *these* *things,*

*abli* *Dur-il* *im-da-ha-ru-ni* *va u-sal-lu-u*  
*the sons of Duril* *besought me,* *and supplicated*

11. *bi-lu-(u)-ti* *su-ut-saki* *ya*  
*my power.* *My generals,*

*sanuti* *eli* *su-nu* *u-ma-hi-ir* *Kar-bat*  
*the prefects* *over them,* *I sent,* *and Karbat*

12. *ik-su-du* *is-lu-la* *nisi* *su* *nisi*  
*they captured, and carried off* *its people.* *The people*

*alani* *sa-tu-nu* *ki-sit-ti* *qati* *ya*  
*of those cities* *captured* *by* *my hand*



𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵

u - sa - az - bit

*I caused to be taken.*

9. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵

[nisi iz]-bam ya sa mat sa

*Men of my bow, of countries which*

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵

zal - ti va

*were conquered*

10. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵

[i - na]

*in*

Kar - bi - it

*Karbat*

va

*and*

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵

alani su u - se - sib

*its cities, I placed.*

The campaign against Karbit, or Karbat, is the least important of Assurbanipal's expeditions. We find again some copies claiming the expedition for the king; but there is no doubt, from the statements of K, 2675, and Cylinder E, that an Assyrian general commanded. As the captives were transported to Egypt, this campaign must have taken place before the revolt of Psammitichus. Karbat appears to have been situated in the mountains east of the Tigris, and between Assyria and Elam.



𐎶 𐎠 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
 Man- na - ai e - ru - ub va at - tal - lak sal-dis  
*Minni I entered and marched victoriously;*

50. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
 alani su dan-nu- ti a - di zihruti sa ni - i - ba  
*his strong cities and smaller ones, which were*

𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 51. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
 la i - su - u a - di ki - rib I - zir - tu (v. ti)  
*without number, to the midst of Izirtu,*

𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 (v. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵) 52. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
 ak - su - ud (v. aksud) ab - bul ag - gur ina isati  
*I took; I threw down, destroyed, and in the fire*

𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 53. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
 ak - mu nisi susi imiri  
*I burned. People, horses, asses,*

𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
 alpi zeni ul - tu ki - rib alani  
*oxen, and sheep, from the midst of those*

54. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
 sa - a - tu - nu u - se za - av - va sal - la - tis am - nu  
*cities I brought out, and as a spoil I counted.*

55. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
 Ah - se - e - ri a - lak gar - ri ya is - me - e va  
*Ahseri of the progress of my expedition heard; and*

56. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
 u - vas - ser I - zir - tu alu sar - (u) - ti su  
*abandoned Izirtu his royal city;*

57. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
 a - na Is - ta - at - ti alu tuglu - ti su  
*to Istatti his castle he*



𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 67. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
 id - du - u in - da - as - sa - ru pa - gar su  
 down and tore in pieces his corpse.

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 68. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵  
 ahi su kin-nu su ziri bit abi su u - sam - ki - tu  
 His brothers, his relatives, and the seed of the house of his father, they

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 69. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 (𐎶𐎵) 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵  
 ina kakki arku U - (a) - al - li - i  
 destroyed with the sword. Afterwards Vualli

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 (v. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵) 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 69. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵  
 ablu su u -sib ina (v. i-na) kuzzu su da - na - an  
 his son sat on his throne; the power of

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 69. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵  
 Assur Sin Samas Vul Bel Nabu Istar  
 Assur, Sin, Shamash, Vul, Bel, Nebo, Ishtar

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 69. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵  
 sa Ninua Ilu şar - rat Kit -mu- ri Istar sa  
 of Nineveh, the divine queen of Kitmuri, Ishtar of

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 69. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵  
 Arba- il Ninip Nergal Nusku Ili rabati  
 Arbela, Ninip, Nergal, and Nusku, the great Gods

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 69. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵  
 beli ya e - mur va ik - nu - sa a - na  
 my lords, he saw, and submitted to

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 (v. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵) 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 69. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵  
 niri (v. ni - ri) ya as - su ba - laḫ napsi - ti su  
 my yoke. To preserve his life

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 69. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵  
 ub - na - a su ip - ta - a u - sal - la - a bel - u - ti  
 his hand (friendship) he offered, and besought my power.





29. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
is - ku - nu abikta su - un  
*accomplished their overthrow.*

30. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
ma - lak 3 kas - pu  
*For a space of three kaspu*

𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 [𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵] 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
ekal rag-[mat šu] - nu u - mal - lu - u zer rap - su  
*of ground their slain filled the wide desert.*

31. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
ina ki - bit Assur Sin Samas Ili rabati  
*By command of Assur, Sin, and Shamas, the great Gods*

𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 32. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
beli ya sa u - tak - ki - lu in - ni  
*my lords, who protected me;*

𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 33. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
ki - rib Man - na - ai e - ru - ub va at - tal - lak  
*into Minni I entered and marched*

𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
sal-dis ina mi - ti - iq gar - ri ya Ai - u - ši - as  
*victoriously. In the progress of my expedition, Aiusias*

34. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
hal - zu Pa - sa - \* \* - šu Bu - šu - ut  
*the fortress, Pasa \* \* su Pusut,*

𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
As - di - as Ur - ki - ya - mu - un Up - pi - is  
*Asdias, Urkiyamun, Uppis,*

𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 36. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
Ši - hu - u - a Na - zi - ni - ri 8  
*Sihua, and Naziniri, eight*

𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 37. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
alani dan - nu - ti va a - di zi - iḥ - ru - ti  
*strong cities, and smaller ones*

sa ni - i - ba la i - su - u 38. a - di ki - rib  
*which were without number, to the midst of*

I - zir - ti ak - su - ud 39. ab - bul ag - gur ina isati  
*Izirtu I captured, I threw down, destroyed, and in the fire*

ak - mu nisi susi imiri  
*I burned. People, horses, asses,*

alpi zeni 41. ul - tu ki - rib alani  
*oxen, and sheep, from the midst of those*

sa - a - tu - nu u - se - za - av - va sal - la - tis am - nu  
*cities I brought out, and as a spoil I counted.*

Ah - se - e - ri a - lak gar - ri ya is - mi va  
*Ahseri of the progress of my expedition heard, and*

u - vas - ser I - zir - tu alu şaru - ti su  
*abandoned Izirtu, his royal city.*

a - na Ad - ra - a - na alu tugul - ti su in - na - bit  
*To Adrana, his castle, he fled,*

e - hu - uz mar - ki - tu I - zir - tu  
*and took refuge. Izirtu,*

Ur - mi - ya - te 47. Uz - bi - a alani  
*Urmiyate, and Uzbia, his*



isati ak - mu as - lu - la sal - la - şun alani  
*fire I burned and carried off their spoil. Those*

sa - a - tu - nu a - na me - şir Assur u - tir - (ra)  
*cities to the boundaries of Assyria I restored.*

57. na - gu - u sa Ar - şı - ya - ni - is sa  
*The district of Arsiyanis, which*

bi - rit A - ya - qa - na - ni sa Ha - ar - şı  
*bounded Azaganani of Harsi,*

sa - di - i sa ris Ku - mu - ur - da - ai sa  
*the mountain which is at the top of Kumurda, in the*

ki - rib Man - na - ai aş - pu - un in isati  
*midst of Minni I destroyed, and in the fire*

ak - mu Ra - ai - di - sa - di - i rab - hal - zu su - nu  
*I burned, Raidisadi commander of their fortresses*

a - duk 62. as - lu - la sal - lat (v. la) şu na - gu - u  
*I killed, I carried off his spoil. The district*

sa E - ri - is (v. iş) te - ya - na ak - su - ud  
*of Eristeyana I captured,*

alani su aş - pu - un ina isati ak - mu  
*its cities I destroyed, and in the fire I burned;*

𐎶 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 66. 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶  
 as - lu - la sal - lat şu ina ti - ib taḫazi ya  
*I carried off its spoil. By the shock of my army,*

𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 67. 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶  
 na - gu su u - saḥ - rib u - za - aḥ - ḥi - ir  
*that district I laid waste, I reduced the*

𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 68. 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶  
 nap - ḥar mati su it - ti ḥu - ub - ti ma - ha - di  
*whole of his country. With much plunder,*

69. 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶  
 ta - mir - ti ka - bit - ti sal - mis a - tu - ra  
*and numerous gifts, peacefully I returned,*

70. 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 71. 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶  
 ak - bu - şa me - şir Assur [Bi(?)] - ru - a  
*and marched across the borders of Assyria. Birua(?),*

𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 72. 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶  
 Şaru - ig - bi Gu - şu - ne - e  
*Saruigbi, Gusune,*

𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 73. 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶  
 [Bi] - ru - u - te alani li - [mi - it]  
*and Birute(?), cities near*

𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 74. 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶  
 Assur sa ina tir - zi şarri abi ya  
*Assyria, which in the time of the kings my fathers*

75. 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 76. 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶  
 e - ki - mu Man - na - ai da - rum - mi sa - a - tu - nu  
*were captured by the Mannians, those districts*

𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 77. 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶  
 ak - su - ud Man - na - ai ul - tu lib - bi aṣ - şuḥ  
*I took. The Mannians, from the midst I removed,*

78. susi bat - li u - nu - tu tahazi  
the horses and their instruments of war

79. as - lu - la a - na Assur alani  
I carried off to Assyria. Those

80. [sa] - a - tu - nu a - na es - su - ti az - bat u - tir - ra  
cities a second time I took, and restored

81. a - na me - şir Assur Ah - se - e - ri  
to the boundaries of Assyria. Ahseri,

82. la pa lah bilu - ti ya [a - mat] Istar im - nu su  
not fearing my power, [the will] of Ishtar delivered

83. i - na qati ardi su nisi mati su şî - lu  
him into the hands of his servants. The people of his country a revolt

84. eli su u - sab - su - u ina şuqi alu su  
against him made, and in front of his city

85. sa - lam - ta su id - du - u pagar su arku  
his attendants threw his corpse. Afterwards

86. Va - a - al - li - i ablu su u - sib i - na  
Vaalli his son sat on

87. kuzzu su da - na - an Assur Sin Samas Bel  
his throne. The power of Assur, Sin, Shamash, Bel,

89. Nabu Istar sa Ninua Istar sa Arba-il  
*Nebo, Ishtar of Nineveh, Ishtar of Arbela,*

90. Ninip Nusku Nergal Ili rabati beli ya  
*Ninip, Nasku, and Nergal, the great Gods my lords,*

91. e - mur va ik - nu - sa a - na niri ya  
*he saw ; and submitted to my yoke.*

92. as - su ba - laḡ naps - ti su ub - na - a su ip - ta - a  
*To preserve his life, he offered his hand,*

93. u - zal - la - a bel - u - ti 94. E - ri - ši - in - ni  
*and submitted to my dominion. Erisinni*

95. ablu ridu - ti su a - na Ninua is - pur - av - va  
*his eldest son, to Nineveh he sent, and*

96. u - na - as - siq sepi ya re - e - mu ar - si su  
*kissed my feet. Favour I granted him,*

97. va a - mir ya sa salim - mi u - ma - hi - ir  
*and my messenger for an alliance I sent*

98. zi - ru - us - su bintu zi - it lib - bi su  
*to him. The daughter proceeding from his body,*

u - se - bi - la a - na e - pis sal tuglu - u - ti  
*he sent for a concubine.*

















*The War with Urtaki, King of Elam.*

The texts of the war with Urtaki are Cylinder B, col. iv, lines 15 to 83, and a fragment of a proclamation of Assurbanipal, K, 1139.

15.   𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤𐎥𐎦𐎧𐎨𐎩𐎪𐎫𐎬𐎭𐎮𐎯𐎰𐎱𐎲𐎳𐎴𐎵𐎶𐎷𐎸𐎹𐎺𐎻𐎼𐎽𐎾𐎿𐏀𐏁𐏂𐏃𐏄𐏅𐏆𐏇𐏈𐏉𐏊𐏋𐏌𐏍𐏎𐏏𐏐𐏑𐏒𐏓𐏔𐏕𐏖𐏗𐏘𐏙𐏚𐏛𐏜𐏝𐏞𐏟𐏠𐏡𐏢𐏣𐏤𐏥𐏦𐏧𐏨𐏩𐏪𐏫𐏬𐏭𐏮𐏯𐏰𐏱𐏲𐏳𐏴𐏵𐏶𐏷𐏸𐏹𐏺𐏻𐏼𐏽𐏾𐏿𐐀𐐁𐐂𐐃𐐄𐐅𐐆𐐇𐐈𐐉𐐊𐐋𐐌𐐍𐐎𐐏𐐐𐐑𐐒𐐓𐐔𐐕𐐖𐐗𐐘𐐙𐐚𐐛𐐜𐐝𐐞𐐟𐐠𐐡𐐢𐐣𐐤𐐥𐐦𐐧𐐨𐐩𐐪𐐫𐐬𐐭𐐮𐐯𐐰𐐱𐐲𐐳𐐴𐐵𐐶𐐷𐐸𐐹𐐺𐐻𐐼𐐽𐐾𐐿𐑀𐑁𐑂𐑃𐑄𐑅𐑆𐑇𐑈𐑉𐑊𐑋𐑌𐑍𐑎𐑏𐑐𐑑𐑒𐑓𐑔𐑕𐑖𐑗𐑘𐑙𐑚𐑛𐑜𐑝𐑞𐑟𐑠𐑡𐑢𐑣𐑤𐑥𐑦𐑧𐑨𐑩𐑪𐑫𐑬𐑭𐑮𐑯𐑰𐑱𐑲𐑳𐑴𐑵𐑶𐑷𐑸𐑹𐑺𐑻𐑼𐑽𐑾𐑿𐒀𐒁𐒂𐒃𐒄𐒅𐒆𐒇𐒈𐒉𐒊𐒋𐒌𐒍𐒎𐒏𐒐𐒑𐒒𐒓𐒔𐒕𐒖𐒗𐒘𐒙𐒚𐒛𐒜𐒝𐒞𐒟𐒠𐒡𐒢𐒣𐒤𐒥𐒦𐒧𐒨𐒩𐒪𐒫𐒬𐒭𐒮𐒯𐒰𐒱𐒲𐒳𐒴𐒵𐒶𐒷𐒸𐒹𐒺𐒻𐒼𐒽𐒾𐒿𐓀𐓁𐓂𐓃𐓄𐓅𐓆𐓇𐓈𐓉𐓊𐓋𐓌𐓍𐓎𐓏𐓐𐓑𐓒𐓓𐓔𐓕𐓖𐓗𐓘𐓙𐓚𐓛𐓜𐓝𐓞𐓟𐓠𐓡𐓢𐓣𐓤𐓥𐓦𐓧𐓨𐓩𐓪𐓫𐓬𐓭𐓮𐓯𐓰𐓱𐓲𐓳𐓴𐓵𐓶𐓷𐓸𐓹𐓺𐓻𐓼𐓽𐓾𐓿𐔀𐔁𐔂𐔃𐔄𐔅𐔆𐔇𐔈𐔉𐔊𐔋𐔌𐔍𐔎𐔏𐔐𐔑𐔒𐔓𐔔𐔕𐔖𐔗𐔘𐔙𐔚𐔛𐔜𐔝𐔞𐔟𐔠𐔡𐔢𐔣𐔤𐔥𐔦𐔧𐔨𐔩𐔪𐔫𐔬𐔭𐔮𐔯𐔰𐔱𐔲𐔳𐔴𐔵𐔶𐔷𐔸𐔹𐔺𐔻𐔼𐔽𐔾𐔿𐕀𐕁𐕂𐕃𐕄𐕅𐕆𐕇𐕈𐕉𐕊𐕋𐕌𐕍𐕎𐕏𐕐𐕑𐕒𐕓𐕔𐕕𐕖𐕗𐕘𐕙𐕚𐕛𐕜𐕝𐕞𐕟𐕠𐕡𐕢𐕣𐕤𐕥𐕦𐕧𐕨𐕩𐕪𐕫𐕬𐕭𐕮𐕯𐕰𐕱𐕲𐕳𐕴𐕵𐕶𐕷𐕸𐕹𐕺𐕻𐕼𐕽𐕾𐕿𐖀𐖁𐖂𐖃𐖄𐖅𐖆𐖇𐖈𐖉𐖊𐖋𐖌𐖍𐖎𐖏𐖐𐖑𐖒𐖓𐖔𐖕𐖖𐖗𐖘𐖙𐖚𐖛𐖜𐖝𐖞𐖟𐖠𐖡𐖢𐖣𐖤𐖥𐖦𐖧𐖨𐖩𐖪𐖫𐖬𐖭𐖮𐖯𐖰𐖱𐖲𐖳𐖴𐖵𐖶𐖷𐖸𐖹𐖺𐖻𐖼𐖽𐖾𐖿𐗀𐗁𐗂𐗃𐗄𐗅𐗆𐗇𐗈𐗉𐗊𐗋𐗌𐗍𐗎𐗏𐗐𐗑𐗒𐗓𐗔𐗕𐗖𐗗𐗘𐗙𐗚𐗛𐗜𐗝𐗞𐗟𐗠𐗡𐗢𐗣𐗤𐗥𐗦𐗧𐗨𐗩𐗪𐗫𐗬𐗭𐗮𐗯𐗰𐗱𐗲𐗳𐗴𐗵𐗶𐗷𐗸𐗹𐗺𐗻𐗼𐗽𐗾𐗿𐘀𐘁𐘂𐘃𐘄𐘅𐘆𐘇𐘈𐘉𐘊𐘋𐘌𐘍𐘎𐘏𐘐𐘑𐘒𐘓𐘔𐘕𐘖𐘗𐘘𐘙𐘚𐘛𐘜𐘝𐘞𐘟𐘠𐘡𐘢𐘣𐘤𐘥𐘦𐘧𐘨𐘩𐘪𐘫𐘬𐘭𐘮𐘯𐘰𐘱𐘲𐘳𐘴𐘵𐘶𐘷𐘸𐘹𐘺𐘻𐘼𐘽𐘾𐘿𐙀𐙁𐙂𐙃𐙄𐙅𐙆𐙇𐙈𐙉𐙊𐙋𐙌𐙍𐙎𐙏𐙐𐙑𐙒𐙓𐙔𐙕𐙖𐙗𐙘𐙙𐙚𐙛𐙜𐙝𐙞𐙟𐙠𐙡𐙢𐙣𐙤𐙥𐙦𐙧𐙨𐙩𐙪𐙫𐙬𐙭𐙮𐙯𐙰𐙱𐙲𐙳𐙴𐙵𐙶𐙷𐙸𐙹𐙺𐙻𐙼𐙽𐙾𐙿𐚀𐚁𐚂𐚃𐚄𐚅𐚆𐚇𐚈𐚉𐚊𐚋𐚌𐚍𐚎𐚏𐚐𐚑𐚒𐚓𐚔𐚕𐚖𐚗𐚘𐚙𐚚𐚛𐚜𐚝𐚞𐚟𐚠𐚡𐚢𐚣𐚤𐚥𐚦𐚧𐚨𐚩𐚪𐚫𐚬𐚭𐚮𐚯𐚰𐚱𐚲𐚳𐚴𐚵𐚶𐚷𐚸𐚹𐚺𐚻𐚼𐚽𐚾𐚿𐛀𐛁𐛂𐛃𐛄𐛅𐛆𐛇𐛈𐛉𐛊𐛋𐛌𐛍𐛎𐛏𐛐𐛑𐛒𐛓𐛔𐛕𐛖𐛗𐛘𐛙𐛚𐛛𐛜𐛝𐛞𐛟𐛠𐛡𐛢𐛣𐛤𐛥𐛦𐛧𐛨𐛩𐛪𐛫𐛬𐛭𐛮𐛯𐛰𐛱𐛲𐛳𐛴𐛵𐛶𐛷𐛸𐛹𐛺𐛻𐛼𐛽𐛾𐛿𐜀𐜁𐜂𐜃𐜄𐜅𐜆𐜇𐜈𐜉𐜊𐜋𐜌𐜍𐜎𐜏𐜐𐜑𐜒𐜓𐜔𐜕𐜖𐜗𐜘𐜙𐜚𐜛𐜜𐜝𐜞𐜟𐜠𐜡𐜢𐜣𐜤𐜥𐜦𐜧𐜨𐜩𐜪𐜫𐜬𐜭𐜮𐜯𐜰𐜱𐜲𐜳𐜴𐜵𐜶𐜷𐜸𐜹𐜺𐜻𐜼𐜽𐜾𐜿𐝀𐝁𐝂𐝃𐝄𐝅𐝆𐝇𐝈𐝉𐝊𐝋𐝌𐝍𐝎𐝏𐝐𐝑𐝒𐝓𐝔𐝕𐝖𐝗𐝘𐝙𐝚𐝛𐝜𐝝𐝞𐝟𐝠𐝡𐝢𐝣𐝤𐝥𐝦𐝧𐝨𐝩𐝪𐝫𐝬𐝭𐝮𐝯𐝰𐝱𐝲𐝳𐝴𐝵𐝶𐝷𐝸𐝹𐝺𐝻𐝼𐝽𐝾𐝿𐞀𐞁𐞂𐞃𐞄𐞅𐞆𐞇𐞈𐞉𐞊𐞋𐞌𐞍𐞎𐞏𐞐𐞑𐞒𐞓𐞔𐞕𐞖𐞗𐞘𐞙𐞚𐞛𐞜𐞝

<< 𐎶 𐎠 𐎶 𐎠 𐎶 16. 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶  
 šar Elam lu - u al - lik sa dabtu abi  
*king of Elam, I went; who the benefits of the father*



















17. 




bani ya la ḥa - aṣ - ṣu la iṣ - zu - ru  
*my begetter disregarded, and had not heeded*




18. 

ip - ru - ti      ul - tu ina      Elam      su - un - qu  
*the famine.*      *When in*      *Elam*      *a drought*

is -ku-nu ib -ba -su-u-ni ip -ri -tu miri  
*took place, there was a famine. Corn*

ba -lad napis- ti nisi u -se - bil su va az -bat  
*to preserve the lives of the people, I sent him, and took*

qat su nisi su sa la pa - an su - un - ki  
*his hand. His people, who from the face of the drought*

21. in - nab tu - u - niv - va u - si - bu ki - rib Assur  
*fled, and dwelt in Assyria,*

22. a - di zu - un - nu - nu ina mati su iz - nu - nu ib - ba - su - u  
*until the rain in his country rained, and there were*

sibirru nisi sa - a - tu - nu sa ina mati ya  
*crops: those people, who in my country*

ib - lu - du u - se - bil su va Elam - ai sa  
*were preserved, I sent to him, and the Elamite; who*

ti - bu - uş - su it - ti lib - bi \* \* \* \* [la]  
*his invasion, with heart \* \* \* \* [did not]*

ha - aş - sa ku - zi - lat su Bel - ba - sa [Gam - bu - la - ai]  
*regard his good. Belbasa the [Gambulian,]*

26. [Nabu] - zikir - esses tig - en - na ardi  
*[Nebo] zikiresses the tigenna tributaries*

[da - gil pa - ni ya] 27. [Maruduk - zikir] - ibni  
*[dependent on me,] [Merodach zikir] ibni*

unmāti sa Ur - ta - ki [sar Elam]  
*general of Urtaki [king of Elam,]*

28. [it - ti su-nu is - ku]-nu pi - i su ana mit- ħu - zi  
[with them] had set his face; to make war on

Akkad \* \* \* \* \* 29. \* \* \* \* \* <  
Akkad. \* \* \* \* \* \* \* and

id - ku - u - ni \* \* \* \* \* Elam \* \* \* \* \*  
had gathered \* \* \* \* \* Elam \* \* \* \* \*

ak - ru - su \* \* \* \* \* id - ka - a qa - bal su  
\* \* \* \* \* gathered within it

ur - ri - ħa ta - ħa - zu 33. a \* \* \* \* \*  
\* \* \* \* \* he set about fighting. \* \* \* \* \*

a - tu - me (v. tum) - e 34. sa \* \* \* \* \* il - lik - av - va  
I was alarmed(?) \* \* \* \* \* he came and

ul as \* \* \* \* \* 36. su - par nisi zīrai  
\* \* \* \* \* concerning the men of the desert

va \* \* \* \* \* 37. is - ta - nap - pa - ra \* \* \* \* \*  
and \* \* \* \* \* he sent \* \* \* \* \*

a - na a - mar šar \* \* \* \* \* 39. a - mir ya  
to see the king of \* \* \* \* \* my envoy

u - ma - hi - [ir as] - pur va 40. il - lik i - tu - [ur] va  
I commanded, I sent, and he went. He returned, and



50. ad - ru - uṣ      ṣu      a - di      me - ṣir      ma-ti su  
and drove him to the frontier of his country.

51. Ur - ta - ki      ṣar      Elam      sa      la      iṣ - zu - ru  
Urtaki      king of      Elam,      who had not heeded

52. ip - ru - ti      ina im - mi      la      sim - ti      su mu - u - [ti]  
the famine;      in the day of his misfortune, death

53. ina ta - ni - ḥi      ik - tu - u      i \* \* \*  
[desired(?)]      In lamentation,      he beat      \* \* \*

54. (v. )      ina qaq - qar      (v. qa - ri)      ba - la - di      sepi su \* \* \*  
on the level      ground,      his feet \* \* \*

55. ina sanat an - na      su na - pis - ta      su      iq - ti - il \* \* \*  
In that year, his life he destroyed \* \* \*

56. Bel - ba - sa      Gam - bu - la - ai      57. sa      iz - lu - u  
Belbasa      the Gambulian,      who had thrown off

58. niru      belu - ti      ya      ina ni - sik      kisti      is - ta - kan  
the yoke of my dominion,      hiding in concealment, he passed

59. na - pis - tu      Nabu - zikir - esses      tig - en - na      la  
his life.      Nebozikiresses      the tigenna, not

60. na - zir      a - de - e      is - si      a - ga - nu  
keeping the covenant,      was overthrown by the

bil - la - ai ma - lu - u - ti (v. maluti)  
*lords strong and mighty.*

61. Maruduk -zikir-ibni unmati su mu-sad-bi - ib su  
*Merodachzikiribni his general, his adviser,*

62. sa limut - tu u - sak - si - du a - na Ur - ta - ki  
*who, evil caused to happen to Urtaki:*

63. e - mi - iš šu Maruduk šar Ili se - er - ta  
*Merodach king of the Gods, fixed on him his great*

64. su rab - tu ina he - ed sanat an - na me - el - rit  
*fear. For one year in presence of each*

65. a - ha - mis is - ku - nu na - pis - tu 66. lib - bi Assur  
*other, they passed their lives. The heart of Assur*

ag - gu ul i - nu - ul su - nu - ti 67. ul ip - suh  
*vengeful, let them not rest, and did not spare*

68. su - nu - ti ka - bat - ti Istar sa u - tag - gil an - ni  
*them. The mighty Goddess who protected me,*

69. pal - e šaru - ti su is - ki - pu 70. bil - lut  
*the time of his kingdom ended, and the dominion*

71. Elam u - raq - qu - u sa - num - ma arku  
*of Elam passed to another. Afterwards*

72. Te - um - man tam - sil gal - lu u - sib ina kuzzu  
*Teumman like an evil spirit, sat on the throne of*

73. Ur - ta - ki a - na da - a - ki abli  
*Urtaki; to slay the sons of*

74. Ur - ta - ki va abli Um - man - al - da - a - se  
*Urtaki, and the sons of Ummanaldas*

75. ahu Ur - ta - ki is - te - ni - ha - a limut  
*the brother of Urtaki, he devised evil.*

76. Um - man - i - gas Um - man - ap - pa Tam - ma - ri - tu  
*Ummanigas, Ummanappa and Tammarit,*

77. abli Ur - ta - ki şar Elam  
*sons of Urtaki king of Elam,*

78. Ku - dur - ru Pa - ru - u abli Um - man - al - da - se  
*Kudurru and Paru, sons of Ummanaldas,*

79. şar a - lik pa - ni Ur - ta - ki va 60  
*the king preceding Urtaki, and sixty of*

81. ziri şarri ina la mi - ni zabi mitpanu abli  
*the seed royal, innumerable bow-men and children*

82. ba - ne - e sa Elam sa la pa - an da - a - ki  
*begotten in Elam; who from the face of the massacre*

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 Te - um - man ahu abu su - nu in - nab - tu - u - niv - va  
 of Teumman their uncle; fled, and took

𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶  
 iz - ba - tu niru šaru - ti ya  
 the yoke of my kingdom.

EXTRACT FROM K, 2867, VARIANT PASSAGE FOR CYLINDER B,  
COLUMN IV, LINES 30 TO 70.

a. 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶  
 I - di - nu de - e - ni it - ti Ur - ta - ki  
 They delivered judgment against Urtaki

𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶  
 šar Elam sa la ag - ru - u su ig - ra an - ni  
 king of Elam; who [when] I did not make war with him, made war

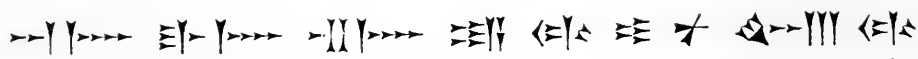
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 \* \* \* \* ke - e - mu - u a abikta su is ku - nu  
 with me \* \* For me, his overthrow they accomplished,

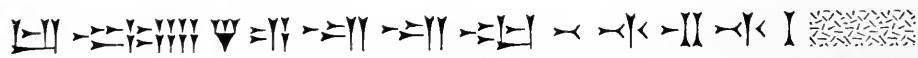
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 𐎶𐎶𐎶 - 𐎶𐎶 - 𐎶𐎶 - 𐎶𐎶 - 𐎶𐎶 - 𐎶𐎶 - 𐎶𐎶 - 𐎶𐎶 - 𐎶𐎶 - 𐎶𐎶  
 𐎶𐎶𐎶 - 𐎶𐎶 - 𐎶𐎶 - 𐎶𐎶 - 𐎶𐎶 - 𐎶𐎶 - 𐎶𐎶 - 𐎶𐎶 - 𐎶𐎶 - 𐎶𐎶  
 struck him in the face, and drove him to the


𐎶𐎶𐎶 [𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶] c. 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶  
 me - [šir mati su] ina sanat an - na su - a - tu ina mit - pan - ni  
 frontier of [his country]. In that year, with a bow(?) they

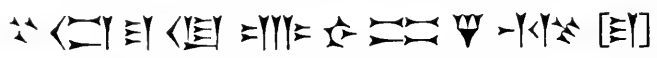
𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶  
 u - 𐎶𐎶 - li - qu nap - sat šu ip - ki - du su a - na  
 destroyed his life, and they sent him to

𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 d. 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶  
 mat - nu - de - a a - sar la \* \* \* \* lib - bi  
 Hades, the place none [return from]. The hearts of the

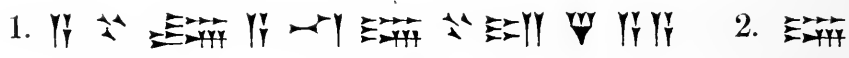
  
 Ili rabati beli ya ul i - nu - uh ul  
*great Gods my lords, did not rest, did not*


  
 ip - suh sa e - zu - zu ka - bat - ti belu - ti su \* \* \*  
*spare. The strong and mighty one, his dominion \* \* \**


e.   
 sar - us su is - ki - pu pal su e - ki - mu bil - lut  
*his kingdom ended, and his days took away. The dominion*

  
 Elam u - raq - qu sa - num - [ma]  
*of Elam passed to another.*


K, 1139.

1.   
 A - mat šaru a - na nisi Ra - sa - ai nisi  
*The will of the king, to the men of Rasa, the sea*

  
 tamti va Ne - ru - u - ti salim - mi ya - a - si  
*coast and the Neruti. My salutation*

  
 lib - ba ku - nu lu - u dabtu ku - nu - si me - nam - ma  
*to your hearts, may benefits to you be counted.*



5.   
 a - na - ku i - na ra - a - me sa Elam  
*I in the prosperity of Elam*

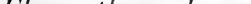
6.   
 a - ra - am en dabti ya va bilu - ti ya ul  
*rejoiced, my good, and my dominion, they*


109

u - ba - hu a - na gab-bi dabtu      8. e - bu - us - u su-nu  
*did not seek. For all the good      done to them,*

9. li - mut - ti e - ep - su - u - ni re - es - şu ina  
evil they committed. First, in the

10.  11.   
immi sa Ur - tak ul - tu bu - bu - ti i - na  
days of Urtak; from the famine in

11.  Elam ur - [du -u- ni]  
*Elam they descended(?)*

12.  [il - li] -ku-u- ni  
*and went*

a - na      [Assur]      \* \* \* \*

to      [*Assyria*]      \* \* \* \*

This war with Urtaki, commenced a series of contests with Elam, which extended through a large part of the reign of Assurbanipal. During the reign of Esarhaddon Ummanaldas I, king of Elam, died, and was succeeded by his brother Urtaki or Urtak, called on K, 1541, 𐎶 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶, Ur-ta-gu; who was on friendly terms with Esarhaddon. Some time after the accession of Assurbanipal and his brother Saulmugina, Assurbanipal befriended the Elamite monarch during a famine, and afterwards Urtaki disregarding this allowed his general Merodachzikiribni to persuade him into an invasion of Babylonia; where, after ravaging the country, he was repulsed by Assurbanipal. On his death within a year of this event Teunman, his brother (called on K, 1009, 𐎶 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶, Tu-ummau), ascended the Elamite throne. Fearing Teunman would murder them, to secure the succession to the throne for his own sons; the two sons of Ummanaldas, and three sons of Urtaki, with a numerous body of adherents, fled to Assyria.

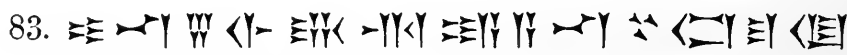
## PART VIII.


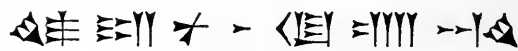
*The War with Teumman King of Elam, and the Conquest of Gambuli.*


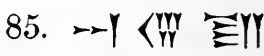
## TEXTS.



The texts relating to this expedition are Cylinder A, col. iii, lines 83, to col. iv, line 5; Cylinder B, col. iv, lines 84, to col. vi, line 92; an extract from K, 2652; and a series of epigraphs placed over the sculptured scenes representing this war.

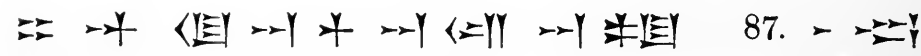

CYLINDER A, COLUMN III, LINE 83, TO COLUMN IV, LINE 5.

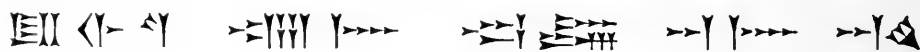




83.   
 I - na ḥamsi gar - ri ya a - na Elam  
*In my fifth expedition, to Elam*

 84.   
 us - te - es - se - ra mur - ra - nu ina ki - bit Assur  
*I directed the march. By the command of Assur,*

 85.   
 Sin Samas Vul Bel Nabu Istar sa  
*Sin, Shamash, Vul, Bel, Nebo, Ishtar of*

 86.   
 Ninua Il ṣar - rat kit - mu - ri Istar sa  
*Nineveh, the divine queen of Kitmuri, Istar of*

 87.   
 Arba- il Ninip Nergal Nusku ina araḥ  
*Arbela, Ninip, Nergal and Nusku; in the month*

      
 Ululu araḥ ṣar Ili Assur  
*Elul, the month of the king of the Gods, Assur,*

88. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
 abu Ili rubu nan - nur ki - ma ti - ib  
*the father of the Gods, the glorious prince: like the shock of a*

𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 89. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
 mi-he - e iz - zi ak - tum Elam a - na  
*terrible storm, I overwhelmed Elam, through*

𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 90. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
 ši - ħir - ti sa ak - kiš qaqadu Te - um - man  
*its extent. I cut off the head of Teumman,*

𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 91. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
 šar su-nu mul - tar - ħu sa ik - bu - da limut - tu  
*their wicked king; who derided evil.*

𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 92. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
 ina la mi-ni a-duk qu - ra - di su bal - du - šun  
*Beyond number I slew his soldiers; alive*

𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 93. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
 ina qa - ti u - za - bit mun - taḥ - ze - e su nin - a - ti  
*in hand, I captured his fighting men. Their*

𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
 su - nu ki - ma mitpani va iz - u - kir  
*wives, like bows and arrows(?),*

94. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 (v. 𐎶𐎵) 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
 u - ma - al - la - a ta - mir (v. mar) - ti Su - sa - an  
*filled the vicinity of Shushan.*

95. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
 pagari su - nu U - la - ai u - sar - di  
*Their corpses the Ulai, I caused to take,*

96. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 [𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵] 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
 me sa az - ru - [ub - ki] - ma na - ba - aš - ši  
*its waters I made to consume like chaff(?).*

97. 𐎶 𐎠𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎠𐎶 𐎠𐎶𐎵 𐎠𐎶 𐎶 𐎶𐎵 𐎠𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎠𐎶𐎵 𐎠𐎶𐎵 𐎠𐎶𐎵 𐎠𐎶𐎵 𐎠𐎶𐎵 𐎠𐎶𐎵  
 Um-man- i -gas ablu Ur- ta - ki šar Elam  
*Ummanigas son of Urtaki, king of Elam,*

98. 𐎶𐎵 𐎠𐎶𐎵 𐎠𐎶𐎵 𐎠𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎠𐎶𐎵 𐎠𐎶𐎵 𐎠𐎶𐎵 𐎠𐎶𐎵 𐎠𐎶𐎵 𐎠𐎶𐎵 𐎠𐎶𐎵 𐎠𐎶𐎵  
 sa la pa- an Te- um -man a - na Assur  
*who from the face of Teumman to Assyria*

99. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎠𐎶𐎵 𐎠𐎶𐎵 𐎠𐎶𐎵 𐎠𐎶𐎵 𐎠𐎶𐎵 𐎠𐎶𐎵 𐎠𐎶𐎵 100. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎠𐎶𐎵  
 in -nab- ta iz- ba - tu niri ya it - ti  
*fled, and had taken my yoke; with*

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎠𐎶𐎵 𐎠𐎶𐎵 𐎠𐎶𐎵 𐎠𐎶𐎵 𐎠𐎶𐎵 𐎠𐎶𐎵 𐎠𐎶𐎵 101. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎠𐎶𐎵 𐎠𐎶𐎵  
 ya u - bil su a - na Elam u -se- sib  
*me I brought him to Elam. I seated*

𐎶𐎵 𐎠𐎶𐎵 𐎠𐎶𐎵 𐎠𐎶𐎵 𐎠𐎶𐎵 𐎠𐎶𐎵 102. 𐎶𐎵 𐎠𐎶𐎵 𐎠𐎶𐎵 𐎠𐎶𐎵 𐎠𐎶𐎵  
 su ina kuzzu Te- um -man Tam- ma- ri - tu  
*him on the throne of Teumman. Tammari*

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎠𐎶𐎵 𐎠𐎶𐎵 𐎠𐎶𐎵 𐎠𐎶𐎵 𐎠𐎶𐎵 103. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎠𐎶𐎵 𐎠𐎶𐎵 𐎠𐎶𐎵  
 aḫu su sal- sa - ai sa it - ti su in - nab- 'ta ina  
*his third brother, who with him fled; in*

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎠𐎶𐎵 𐎠𐎶𐎵 𐎠𐎶𐎵 𐎠𐎶𐎵 𐎠𐎶𐎵 104. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎠𐎶𐎵 𐎠𐎶𐎵 𐎠𐎶𐎵  
 Hi- da - lu as - kun su a - na šar - u - ti  
*Hidalu I appointed to the kingdom.*

104. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎠𐎶𐎵 𐎠𐎶𐎵 𐎠𐎶𐎵 𐎠𐎶𐎵 𐎠𐎶𐎵 𐎠𐎶𐎵 𐎠𐎶𐎵  
 ul - tu kakki Assur va Istar eli  
*Then the servants of Assur and Ishtar, over*

𐎠𐎶𐎵 𐎠𐎶𐎵 105. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎠𐎶𐎵 𐎠𐎶𐎵 𐎠𐎶𐎵 𐎠𐎶𐎵 𐎠𐎶𐎵 𐎠𐎶𐎵  
 Elam u - sam - ri - ru as - tak - ka - nu  
*Elam I caused to march; I acquired*

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎠𐎶𐎵 106. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎠𐎶𐎵 𐎠𐎶𐎵 𐎠𐎶𐎵 𐎠𐎶𐎵 𐎠𐎶𐎵 𐎠𐎶𐎵  
 da - na- nu va li - i - tu ina ta - ay - ar - ti ya  
*power and glory. On my return*

107. eli Du - na - nu Gam - bu - li - ai sa a - na  
against Dunanu the Gambulian, who to

108. it - tag - lu as - ku - na pa - ni ya  
Elam trusted; I set my face.

109. alu tugul - ti Gam - bu - li  
Sa - pi - i - bel the fortified city of Gambuli,

110. ki - rib alu su - a - tu e - ru - ub  
ak - su - ud I took; into that city I entered,

111. u - qu - uh Du - na - nu  
nisi su az - lis I carried off. Dunanu and  
its people entirely







112. (v. ) mu - nir - ri - du (v. da)  
Sa - am - (ha) - gu - nu opposers of the  
Samgunu,










113. ina zi - iz - zi is - qa - ti  
e - pis šaru - ti ya in strong fetters of  
work of my kingdom,






114. u - tam - mi - ha qati va  
parzil bi - ri - ti parzil I bound their hands and  
iron, and bonds of iron,

115. kin - nu su  
sepi ši - it - ti abli Bel - ba - sa his kin, the  
feet. The rest of the sons of Belbasa,

116. Nabu - nahid  
ziri bit abu su ma - la ba - su - u Nabonidus and  
seed of his father's house, all there were,







  
 Bel - edir                      abli                      Nabu - zikir - esses  
*Beledir,                      sons of                      Nebozikiresses*

117. 








  
 tig - en - na                      va                      nir - pad - du (v. da) - i  
*the tigenna,                      and                      the attendants of the*






  
 abi ba - ni su - nu  
*father their begetter;*

## COLUMN IV.

1. 





























































  
 it - ti                      \* \* \* \* \* - bi                      Te - be - e  
*with                      the                      \* \* \* \* \* and                      Tebe,*

2. 









  
 nisi                      Gam - bu - li                      alpi                      zeni  
*people                      of                      Gambuli,                      oxen,                      sheep,*



 3. 







  
 imiri                      susi                      pare                      ul - tu  
*asses,                      horses,                      and                      mules;                      from*













  
 ki - rib                      Gam - bu - li                      [as - lu - la a] - na                      Assur  
*the midst of Gambuli,                      [I carried off] to                      Assyria.*













  
 Sa - pi - i - bel                      alu tugul - ti su [ab - bul] ag - gur  
*Sapibel, his                      fortified city, [I pulled down], destroyed,*






  
 ina me us - ham - mid  
*and into the waters I turned.*

## CYLINDER A, COLUMN X, LINES 22 TO 30.

22. | <𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 << 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 <𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵  
 Ša - duri šar Ur - ar - di sa šarri  
*Saduri, king of Ararat; who the kings*

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 | 23. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵  
 abi su a - na abi ya is - ta -nap-pa - ru - u  
*his fathers to my fathers had sent concerning the*

(v. 𐎶𐎵 <) 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 < 𐎶𐎵 24. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 | 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵  
 (v. par - u) - ni aḥu - u - ut e - nin - na Ša - duri  
*brotherhood. Again, Saduri,*

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 25. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵  
 da - na - a - nu ip - se - e - tu sa Ili rabati  
*the mighty things for which the great Gods*

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 <𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 26. <𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵  
 i - si - mu in - ni is - me - e va ki - ma sa ablu  
*had caused renown to me, heard, and like a son to*

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 | 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 (v. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵) 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 < 𐎶𐎵  
 a - na abi su is - ta - nap - pa - ra (v. ru) bel - u - ut  
*his father, he sent concerning the dominion;*

27. <𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 <𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 <𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
 va su - u ki - i pi - i an - nim - ma  
*and he by word of mouth to me*

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 28. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 <𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵  
 is - ta - nap - pa - ra um - ma lu - u salim - mu a - na  
*sent thus: "Salutation to the*

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 29. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵  
 šar beli ya pal - ḥi - is kan - sis ta - mar - ta  
*king my lord." Reverently and submissively his numerous*

I 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 30. 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶  
 su ka - bit - tu u - se - ba - la a - di  
*presents he sent to*

𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶  
 mah - ri ya  
*my presence.*

CYLINDER B, COLUMN IV, LINES 84, TO COLUMN VI, LINE 92.

82. 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶  
 Ina šibe gar - ri ya eli Te - um -man  
*In my seventh expedition against Teumman*

85. 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 86. 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶  
 šar Elam lu - u al - lik sa eli  
*king of Elam I went ; who against*

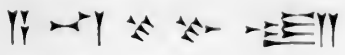

𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶  
 Um -man- i -gas Um -man- ap - pa Tam- ma- ri - tu  
*Ummanigas, Ummanappa, and Tammaritu,*

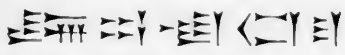

87. 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶  
 abli Ur - ta - ki šar Elam  
*sons of Urtaki, king of Elam,*

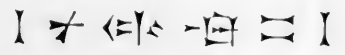

88. 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶  
 Ku - dur - ru Pa - ru - u abli  
*Kudurru and Paru, sons of*

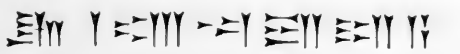

89. 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 90. 𐎶𐎵𐎶  
 Um -man- al - da -se aḥu Ur - ta - ki šar  
*Ummanaldasi, brother of Urtaki, king of*

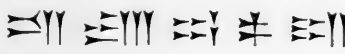

𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 91. 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶  
 Elam nisi zirati su is - ta -nap- pa - ra  
*Elam ; his great men sent,*

92.  a - na se - bu - li  
*for the surrender of*
 nisi sa - a - tu - nu sa  
*these men, who*


93.  in - nab - tu - niv - va  
*had fled and*
 iz - ba - tu niri ya se - bul  
*taken my yoke. Their surrender*

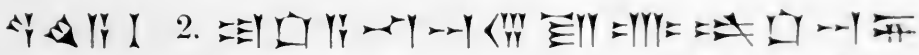
94.  su - nu ul ag - bi su  
*I did not grant him.*
 ana eli mi - mut - e - ti ina  
*Concerning the demands, by the*


95.  qati Um - ba - da - ra - a  
*hand of Umbadara*
 va Nabu - damig  
*and Nebodamig*

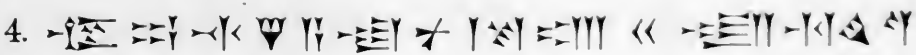
 is - ta - nap - pa - ra  
*he sent a*
 arah - u  
*month.*

## COLUMN V..

1.  Ki - rib Elam us - tar - ra - aḥ ina puḥur  
*In the midst of Elam he set himself to work in gathering*

2.  umman su ad - gil a - na Istar sa u - tag - gil an - ni  
*his army. I trusted to Ishtar, who protects me.*

3.  ki - bit pi - i su ṣa - ḥu - u ul am - gar ul a - din su  
*The demand of his vile mouth I did not accede to, I did not give him*

4.  mun - nab - ti sa - a - tu - nu Te - um - man li - mut - tu  
*those fugitives. Teumman devised*

5. is - te - ni - ha - a Sin is - te - ni - ha su  
evil; Sin devised against him

6. \* \* \* \* limutti ina arah Dūza atalu lat-tur-ri  
omens of evil; in the month Tammuz, the darkness of the morning

7. us - ta - ni - ih va sam - si zit va ki - ma  
watch he caused to retard the rising sun; and like

8. 3 immi us - ta - ni - ih a - na  
this also three days he caused to retard; to the

9. Elam uhalliq  
ki - it pali [sar] Elam  
end (?) that (?) "the [king] of Elam shall be destroyed,

10. an - ni puluk uzzi su sa  
mata su \* \* \* \*  
his country \* \* \* \* "this she selected(?) in her power, which

11. la in - ni - nu - u ina im - mi su va me - eh - ru  
changed not. In those days, before

12. im - har su va saput su uq - ta - qum va  
she received him, her lips cursed, and

13. eni su is - har va ga - ba - zu is - sa - kin ina  
her eyes flamed, and vengeance was fixed in her

14. lib - bi sa it - ti ip - se - c - ti an - na - a - ti  
heart. About these things, which



25. al - la - ku      it - ti su [a - na] e - pu - su  
*I go                      with him [to]                      make*

26. mit-ħu - zu - ti      su-par me - ri - iħ - ti an - ni - ti  
*war."                      Over                      this                      threat,*

27. sa Te - um -man      ig - bu - u am - ħar [sa] - qu - ti  
*which Teumman                      had spoken; I prayed to the lofty*

28. Is - tar      a (v. az) - zi -ma a - na tar - ħi sa  
*Ishtar.                      I approached to her presence,*

29. ak - mi - iħ sa - pal sa      Ilu - uħ - ħa u - sa - ap - pa - a  
*I bowed under her,                      her divinity                      I supplicated,*

30. il - la - ka salim - ma ai      um - ma bi - lat  
*and she came to save me.                      Thus: "Goddess of*

Arba - il a - na - ku      Assur - bani - pal ħar      Assur  
*Arbela,                      I am                      Assurbanipal king of Assyria,*

31. bi - nu - ut qati ki      \* \* \* \* \* abu ba - nu - ki  
*the work of thy hands      \* \* \* \* \* the father thy begetter,*

32. a - na ud - du - si es - re - e - ti      Assur va  
*to restore the temples of                      Assyria, and*

suk - lul ma - ħa - zi      Akkad      \* \* \* \* \*  
*adorn the cities of                      Akkad      \* \* \* \* \**

33. 𐎶 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
 a - na - ku as - re - e ki as - te - ni - ha - a  
*I thy courts desire,*

𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 34. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
 al - li - ka a - na pa - luḥ \* \* \* \* \* va  
*I go to worship \* \* \* \* \* and*

𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
 su - u Te - um - man ṣar Elam la mu - sa - kir  
*he, Teumman king of Elam, hater of the*

𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 35. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
 Ili ku \* \* li a - na \* \* um - ma at - ti bi - lat  
*Gods \* \* \* to \* \* O thou Goddess*

𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
 bi - le - e - ti i - mat qab - li bi - lat ta - ḥa - zi  
*of Goddesses, terrible in battle, Goddess of war,*

𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 36. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
 ma - li - kat Ili \* \* \* sa ina ma - ḥar Assur  
*queen of the Gods \* \* \* who in the presence of Assur*

𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
 abi ba - ni ki damqati tag - bi - i ina na \* \* \*  
*the father thy begetter, speakest good in \* \* \**

37. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 38. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
 iḥ - su - ḥa an - ni \* \* \* a - na su - ḍu - ub lib - bi  
*loved me \* \* \* \* \* to make glad the heart of*

𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
 Assur va nu - uḥ - ḥi ka - bat - ti Maruduk \* \* ru - ur - ru  
*Assur, and rejoice greatly Merodach \* \* \* \* \**

𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 39. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
 ki \* \* \* \* as - su Te - um - man ṣar Elam  
*they \* \* \* \* Of Teumman king of Elam*





53. *Arba - il e - ru - ub (v. ba) - av - va imnu va*  
*Arbela, entered, and right and*

*sumili tu - ul (v. tul) - la - a - ta - is - pa - a - ti*  
*left she was surrounded with glory(?),*

54. *tam-ḥa- at mitpanu i - na (v. ina) i - di sa zal-pat*  
*holding a bow in her hand, projecting*

*muz - za - ru kap - tu sa e - pis ta - ḥa - zi (v. taḥaz)*  
*a powerful arrow(?) on making war,*

56. *ma - ḥar sa ta - (az) - zi - iz si - i ki - ma umma*  
*her countenance was set. She like a mother*

57. *a - lit - ti i - tam - ma - a it - ti ka il - ši*  
*bearing, was in pain with thee, she brought*

*ka Istar sa - qu - ut (v. qut) Ili i - sak - kan*  
*thee forth. Ishtar exalted of the Gods, appointeth*

59. *ka ḡe - e - mu um - ma ta - na - da - la a - na*  
*thee a decree. Thus: 'Carry off to*

60. *e - pis sa - as - si a - sar pa - nu ki sak - nu*  
*make spoil, the place before thee set,*

61. *te - ba - ku a - na - ku at - ta ta - gab - bi si*  
*I will come to.' Thou shalt say to her,*

um -ma a - sar tal - la - ki 62. it - ti ki lul - lik  
*thus: 'The place thou goest to with thee I will go.' The*

bi - lat biletī si - i tu - sa - an - nak - ka um - ma  
*Goddess of Goddesses she repeateth to thee thus:*

at - ta a - gan - na 64. lu - (u) as - ba - ta a - sar  
*'Thee I will guard, then I will rest in the place of the*

mas - gan - i Nabu 65. a - kul a - ka - lu si - ti  
*temple of Nebo, eat food, drink*

ku - ru - un - nu 66. nin - gu - ut su - kun nu - hi - id  
*wine, music appoint, glorify my*

[Ilu - (u) - ti 67. a - di al - la - ku sip - ru  
*divinity, until I go, and this*

su - a - tu ip - pu - su 68. u - sak - sa - du  
*message shall be accomplished. I will cause thee to*

zu - (um) - mi - rat lib - bi ka 69. pa - nu - u ka ul  
*take the desire of thy heart, before thee he shall not*

ur - rak ul i - nir - ru - da sepi ka ul  
*stand, he shall not oppose thy feet Do not*

ta - u - sat zu - par ka ina qabal tam - ha - ri ina  
*regard(?) thy skin. In the midst of battle, in*



𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 (v. 𐎶𐎵) 𐎶𐎵 < 80. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 - 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
in - nin (v. ni) - nu - u ad - ke zabi tahaz ya  
unchanged. I gathered my men of war,

𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 - 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 < 𐎶𐎵 < 𐎶𐎵 <  
mun - tah - zi sa ina ki - bit Assur Sin va Istar  
the fighting men who by command of Assur, Sin and Ishtar;

81. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
it - ta - na - as - ra - du qabal tam - ha - ri  
were arranged in order of battle.

82. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 < 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
e - li Te - um - man šar Elam ur - hu  
Against Teumman king of Elam, the road

𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 83. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 < 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
aṣ - bat va [us - te - es - se] - ra mur - ra - nu  
I took, and directed the march.

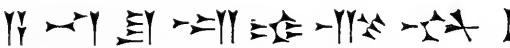

𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 < 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 < 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
el - la - mu - u a Te - um - man šar Elam  
In front of me, Teumman king of Elam

84. 𐎶𐎵 [𐎶𐎵] 𐎶𐎵 < 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
\* \* \* \* [na] - di man - dak - tu e - rib saru - ti ya  
\* \* \* \* camp was placed. Of my royal entry,



85. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
sa ki - rib Dur - il is - me - e va iz - bat šu  
in the midst of Duril he heard; and fear took



𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 < 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 86. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
hat - tu Te - um - man ip - luḥ va arku su i - tur  
hold of him. Teumman feared, and after him turned

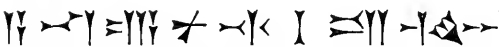
𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 87. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
e - ru - ub [ki - rib] Su - sa - an \* \* \* \* gi  
and entered [into] Shushan. \* \* \* \*



 88.   
 [a - na su - zu - ub napolis - ti su \* \* \* \* \* a - na  
*To save his life \* \* \* \* \* to the*

 89.   
 nisi mati su \* \* \* \* \* ka i - di - i su  
*people of his country \* \* \* \* \* his hand(?)*



 90.   
 pa-nu-us-su u - tir (v.te) - rav - va \* \* \* \* \*  
*before him returned, and \* \* \* \* \**




 91.   
 [is] - pur a - na mah - ri ya [U - la] - ai  
*[he] sent to my presence. The Ulai*

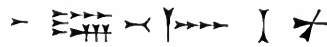


 92.   
 a - na dan - nu - ti su is - kun \* \* \* \* \* pa - an  
*for himself he fortified \* \* \* \* \* before*

 93.   
 mas - ke - e \* \* \* \* \* Maruduk Ili rabati  
*my camp \* \* \* \* \* Merodach, the great Gods*

 94.  95.   
 beli ya sa u - tag - gil - u in - ni ina  
*my lords; who protected me: in*

 \* \* \*   
 \* \* \* suttu ka - sa si - par mah - he - e  
*omens of a dream, had given(?) a grand message.*

 96.    
 ki - rib Tul - li - iz abikta su as - kun  
*In Tulliz his overthrow I accomplished;*

 97.    
 ina pagari su - nu U - la - ai as - ki - ir  
*with their corpses, the Ulai I choked up*





gi - mir umman ya sa sal - tu sak - na - at  
all my army, for spoil they were given.

10. Ina samne gar - ri ya eli Du - na - nu ablu  
In my seventh expedition, against Dunanu son of

Bel - ba - sa a - na Gam - bu - li lu - u al - lik  
Belbasa, to Gambuli I went;

12. sa a - na šar Elam it - tag - lu la - a  
who to the king of Elam had trusted, and did not

ik - nu - sa a - na niri ya ta - ha - zi  
submit to my yoke. By my powerful

dan - nu Gam - bu - li a - na ši - ħir - ti su ki - ma  
attack Gambuli through its extent, like a

sa - bare ak - tum 16. Sa - pi - i - bel  
hailstorm I covered. Sapibel

alu dan - nu - ti - su sa ki - rib me na - da - at  
its strong city; which in the midst of the waters was

su - bat šu ak - su - ud 18. Du - na - nu aḫi su  
situated, I captured. Dunanu and his brothers,

ul - tu ki - rib alu su - a - tu 19. bal - du - šu - un  
from the midst of that city, alive I



32. Sa - pi - i] - bel bal - du - uş - şu ina [qati  
 [Sapi]bel: alive in [hand] I

33. az] - bat it - ti pa - ni Du - na - nu \* \* \* \* \*  
 took, with the officers of Dunanu \* \* \* \* \*

34. alu su - a - tu ab - bul ag - [gur ina me us - ham - mid]  
 That city I pulled down, destroyed [and into the waters I turned].

35. a - di la ba - se - e ina [lib - bi] 36. na - gu - u  
 Until none were in the midst, that

su - a - [tu] u - saħ - rib ri - kim a - mi - lu - ti  
 district I laid waste. The passage of people,

38. ap - ru - şa zir - us - su ina tu - gul - ti Assur Bel  
 I cut off from over it. In the service of Assur, Bel

39. Nabu Ili rabati nakiri ya a - ni - ha  
 and Nebo the great Gods; my enemies I rested from:

40. sal - mis a - tu - ra a - na Ninua qaquadu  
 peacefully, I returned to Nineveh. The head of

42. Te - um - man şar Elam ina kibi Du - na - nu  
 Teumman king of Elam, round the neck of Dunanu

43. a - lul it - ti ki - sit - ti Elam  
 I hung. With the conquests of Elam,

44. sal - la - at (v. ti) Gam - bu - li 45. sa ina  
and the spoil of Gambuli; which by
- ki - bit Assur ik - su - du (v. da) qati ai 46. it - ti  
command of Assur, my hands had taken; with
- nis labi e - pis nin - gu - ti 47. a - na Ninua  
musicians making music, into Nineveh,
- e - ru - ub ina 48. Um - ba - da - ra - a  
I entered with rejoicings. Umbadara and
- Nabu - damiq 49. nisi zirati sa Te - um - man  
Nebodamiq, great men of Teumman
50. sa Te - um - man ina qati su - nu  
king of Elam; whom Teumman by their hand
51. is - pu - ra si - par mi - ri - ih - ti sa ina  
sent the threatening message, whom in
52. mah - ri ya ak - lu - u u - qa - hu - u  
my presence I confined, and bound,
53. pa - an si - kin de - (e) mi ya ni - kiş qaqadu  
until the fixing of my sentence: the decapitated head of
- Te - um - man bel su - nu ki - rib Ninua  
Teumman their lord, in Nineveh





ah - ra - a - ti u - bil su-nu - ti 74. sa  
*my judgment I brought them. Of*

Man-nu - ki - ahi \* \* \* \* Du - na - nu va  
*Mannukiahi \* \* \* \* , Dunanu and*

Nabu - u - zal - li nisi sa eli Gam-bu - li  
*Nebouzalli, men who were over Gambuli;*

76. sa eli Ili ya ig - bu - u suq - la - tu rab-tu  
*who against my Gods uttered great curses,*

77. ki - rib Arba- il lisan su - un as - lu - up  
*in Arbela, their tongues I pulled out,*

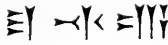



78. as - lu - ud masak su - un Du - na - nu ki - rib Ninua  
*I flayed off their skin. Dunanu in Nineveh,*

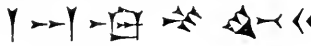
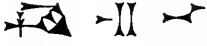
79. eli ma - ka - zi id - du suv - va  
*over a furnace they placed him, and*


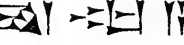
80. id - bu - hu - us az - lis 81. ši - it - ti ahi su sa  
*consumed him entirely. The rest of the brothers of*

Du - na - nu va Pal - ai a - ni - ir siri  
*Dunanu and Paliya, I threw down; his limbs*

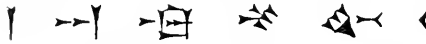

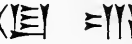
su u - nak - kiş 83. u - se - bil a - na ta - mar - ti  
*I cut off, and sent for the inspection of my*



 84.   85.   
 ma-ti dan Nabu-nahid Bel-edir abli  
*powerful country, Nabonidus and Beledir sons of*


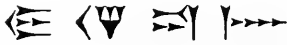
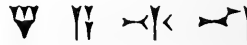
  86.   
 Nabu-zikir-esses tig-en-na sa-abu  
*Nabuzikiresses tigenna: whose father*



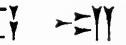

   87.   
 ba-nu su-un Ur-ta-ki id-ka-a a-na  
*their begetter, Urtaki brought to*


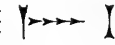
  88.   
 mit-hu-zi Akkad ner-pad-du-i  
*fight with Akkad the attendants*

    
 Nabu-zikir-esses sa-ul-tu ki-rib  
*of Nebozikiresses, whom from the midst of*

 89.   
 Gam-bu-li il-qu-u-ni a-na  
*Gambuli, I carried to*

 90.    
 Assur ner-pad-du-i sa-a-ti-na  
*Assyria: those attendants, in*

91.      
 me-eh-rit bab-rab qabal Ninua  
*front of the great gate in the midst of Nineveh;*

92.    
 u-sah-si-la abli-su  
*I caused to crush his sons.*

## EXTRACT FROM K, 2652.

a. Ina arah Tasritu immi istin in - nin - du va eli  
*In the month Tisri, the first day, it was placed; and against*

b. id - du - u pagar Te - um - man šar  
 su \* \* \* \* \* them they threw the corpse of Teumman king of  
 him \* \* \* \*

c. ultu su - sa - an  
 Elam \* \* \* \* \* from Shushan  
 Elam \* \* \* \* \*

alu šar - u - ti su a - na Ninua alu na - ram  
 his royal city, to Nineveh the city the delight




d. a - na alani ma - ḥa - zi su - lat  
 \* \* \* \* \* to the fortified cities, seats of  
 \* \* \* \* \*

e. ina im - mi su  
 Is - tar - a - tu sa is \* \* \* \* \* In those days,  
 Ishtaroth; who \* \* \* \* \*

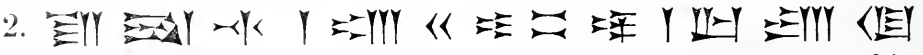

mitpanu su - a - tu ina qata ai at - mu - uḥ \* \* \* \* \*  
 that bow in my hand, I took \* \* \* \* \*

f. e - li nikiš qaquadu Te - um - man šar E - lam \* \* \*  
 over the decapitated head of Teumman king of Elam, \* \* \*


g. da - na - an Is - tar bilat ya a - mur va at - ta - id  
 The power of Ishtar my Goddess I saw and praised

h.  h.    
 \* \* \* mit-pa-nu su-a-tu ši-mat idi ya \* \* \* \*  
 \* \* \* that bow, the weapon of my hand \* \* \* \*

FRAGMENT OF TABLET K, 2674, CONTAINING EIGHT EPIGRAPHS FOR  
 PLACING OVER THE SCULPTURED SCENES ON A PALACE WALL.

1.   
 Um -ma - a - ti      Assur -bani-pal sar      Assur  
*The general of Assurbanipal king of Assyria;*
2.   
 sa      it - ti      Um-man- i -gas ablu      Ur - ta - ki  
*whom      with      Ummanigas      son      of      Urtaki*
-  3.   
 sar      Elam      mun-nab- tu      sa      iz- ba - tu      niru  
*king of Elam,      the fugitive, who took the yoke of*
-   
 šaru - ti      ya      as -pu - ru      a - na      ka - sad      Elam  
*my kingdom: I sent to conquer      Elam.*

---

4.   
 Ši - im - bu - ru      niru      sa      Elam  
*Simburu      a      chief      of      Elam,*
-  5.   
 ma - lak      ummani      ya      is - mi      va      zi - kar  
*of the progress of my army heard; and      at the fame of*
-   
 sum      ya      ip - luḥ      va      ina      mahri      a - mir      ya  
*my name he feared, and in the presence of my envoy*
-   
 il - lik - av - va      u - na - siq      niri      ya  
*he came, and kissed my feet.*



𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
 iṣ - di - ru is - ku - nu abikta Elam  
*arrayed. They accomplished the overthrow of Elam.*

14. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
 Te - um - man ṣar Elam taḥ - te - e umman su  
*Teumman king of Elam, the defeat of his army*

𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 15. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
 e - mur va a - na su - zu - ub nāpis - ti su  
*saw; and to save his life,*

𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
 in - na - bit va i - ba - qa - am ziq - na - a su  
*he fled, and tore his beard.*

16. (Blank) 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
 (Blank) ablu Te - um - man ṣar Elam sa ina  
 (Blank) son of Teumman king of Elam; who in

𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 17. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
 tap - de - e ip - par - si - du ku - tig - ud - du su  
*fear had fled, his line of battle(?)*

𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
 is - ru - du a - na abi ba - ni su  
*had arranged. To the father his begetter*

18. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
 i - sa - aṣ - ṣu - u ku - us - sid la ta - kal - la  
*he had said: "the battle(?) do not continue."*

19. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
 Te - un - man ṣar Elam sa ina taḥaz ya  
*Teumman king of Elam; who in my fierce*

𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 20. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
 dan - ni muḥ - ḥa - zu a - na su - zu - ub nāpis - ti  
*attack was wounded: to save his life*

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵  
 in - na - bit va iḥ - lu - ub ki - rib kis - ti  
*fled, and passed through the woods.*

21. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵  
 [ruqubi] zu - um - bi ru - du ṣaru - ti su  
*The war chariot, his royal carriage,*

𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵  
 is - se - bir va ip - pal \* \* \* \*  
*was broken and fell* \* \* \* \*

EPIGRAPH OVER TWO FIGURES; ONE, TEUMMAN WOUNDED BY AN ARROW, THE OTHER, HIS SON TAMRITU DRAWING A BOW.

1. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 2. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵  
 Te - um - man ina me - kit de - e - mi a - na  
*Teumman with a sharp command, to*

𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 3. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵  
 ablu su ig - bu - u su - le - e mitpamu  
*his son had said: "draw the bow."*

EPIGRAPH OVER TWO FIGURES (TEUMMAN AND HIS SON) BEING EXECUTED.

1. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵  
 Te - um - man ṣar Elam sa ina taḫazi dan - ni  
*Teumman king of Elam; who in my fierce attack*

2. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵  
 muḥ - ḥu - zu Tam - ri - i - tu ablu su rabu - u  
*was wounded; Tamritu his eldest son,*

3. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵  
 qati ṣu iḥ - ba - tu va a - na su - zu - ub napisti su - un  
*his hands had taken, and to save their lives,*

4. in - nab - tu ih - lu - bu ki - rib kis - ti  
*they fled, and passed through the woods.*
5. Ina tugul - ti Assur va Istar a - lul su - nu - ti  
*In the service of Assur and Ishtar, I felled them.*
6. qaqadu su-nu akkiş me - eh - rit a-ħa- mis  
*Their heads I cut off, in presence of each other.*

EPIGRAPH OVER FIGURES SEATED IN A CHARIOT HOLDING A  
 MAN'S HEAD IN HAND.

1. Qaqadu Te - um - [man şar Elam]  
*The head of Teumman [king of Elam];*
2. sa ina qabal tam - ħa - [ri ik - ki - şu]  
*which in the midst of battle [they cut off,]*
3. a - ħu - ru - u umman ya a - na bu - uş - [şu - rat]  
*in sight of my army. For good tidings,*
4. ħa - de - e u - saħ - ma - ħu a - na Assur  
*joyfully they sent [it] to Assyria.*

EPIGRAPH OVER WOUNDED FIGURE ON THE GROUND  
 SURRENDERING HIMSELF.

1. Ur - [ta] - ku ħa - ta - nu Te - um - man sa  
*Urtaku the relative of Teumman; who*
- 2.

ina uz - zi muḥ - ḥu - zu la ik - tu - u napisti  
*by an arrow was wounded; regarded not his life.*

3. a - na na - kaš qaqaḍu ra - ma - ni su ablu Assur  
*To cut off his own head, the son of Assur*

4. i - sa - ši va um - na al - ka qaqaḍu nakış  
*he told also thus: "I surrender; my head cut off,*

5. maḥri šar bel ka i - si va le - e - ki - mu  
*before the king thy lord set it, may he take it for a*

damqati  
*good omen."*

EPIGRAPH OVER TWO FIGURES; THE FIRST HOLDING THE SECOND BY THE HAIR OF HIS HEAD, AND LIFTING A SWORD WITH HIS RIGHT HAND. THE SECOND WITH A SWORD IN HIS RIGHT HAND, CUTTING IN TWO A BOW, HELD IN HIS OWN LEFT HAND.

1. I - tu - ni - i ummati Te - um - man  
*Ituni general of Teumman*

šar Elam sa ir - ḥa - nis is - tap - pa - ras - su  
*king of Elam; of whom, treacherously he sent him*

a - di maḥ - ri ya ta - ḥa - zi dan - nu e - mur  
*to my presence. My fierce attack he saw;*



2. 𐎶 𐎠 𐎥 𐎧𐏁 𐎡𐏁 𐎤𐎢𐏁 𐎫𐎵 𐎲𐎠𐏃 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
sa ina tugul- ti Assur va Istar beli ya nakiri ya  
*of whom, in the service of Assur and Ishtar, my lords, my enemies*
3. 𐎶𐎵 𐎠 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
ak-su-du am - zu - u ma - la lib - bi ya Ru - sa - a  
*I have captured; I have gratified all my heart.* Rusu
4. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
sar Ur - ar - da da - na - an Assur bel ya  
*king of Armenia; the power of Assur my lord,*
- 𐎶𐎵 𐎠 𐎶𐎵 5. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
is - mi va pu - luḥ - tu šaru - ti ya iṣ - ḥu - up su  
*heard of, and fear of my kingdom overwhelmed him,*
- 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
va nisi zīrati su a - na sa - ha - al salim - mi ya  
*and his great men to pray for my friendship,*
- 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
is - pu - ra ana ki - rib Arba-il Nabu - damiq  
*he sent to the midst of Arbela.* Nebodamīq
- 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
Um - ba - da - ra - a nisi zīrati sa Elam  
*and Umadara, great men of Elam,*
8. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
it - ti birati(?) si - par mi - ri - ilḥ - tu ul - ziz  
*in bonds for the defiance; I placed*
- 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
ina mah - ri su - un  
*in their presence.*

ina mah - ri su - un  
*in their presence.*

## EPIGRAPH ON TABLET K, 2637.

a. [𐎠𐎵𐎠𐎶] 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 b. [𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶] 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶  
 [Du - na] - nu ablu Bel - ba - sa [bal - du] - uš - šu  
*Dunanu son of Belbasa, alive*

𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 c. [𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶] 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶  
 ina qati az - bat qu - ra - di ya bi - ri - tu  
*in hand, I captured. My warriors in bonds*

𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 d. [𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶] 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶  
 id - du su va [a - na] Ninua a - di maḥ - ri ya  
*placed him, and [to] Nineveh, to my presence*

𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶  
 u - saḥ - mi - du - ni  
*they sent.*

EPIGRAPH (*names blank*) OVER FIGURES BEING FLAYED ALIVE.

1. 𐎶 (Blank) 𐎶 (Blank) 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 2. 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶  
 (blank) (blank) sa eli Assur Ili ba - ni ya  
 (blank) (blank) who against Assur the God my begetter

𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 3. 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶  
 ig - bu - u suq - la - tu rab - tu lisani su - nu  
*uttered great curses: their tongues*

𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶  
 as - lu - up as - ḥu - da masaki su - un  
*I pulled out, I tore off their skins.*

The circumstances recorded in this division of Assurbanipal's reign, probably extended over a considerable time, and the war with Teumman, which forms its main feature, was evidently considered one of the most important struggles, in which Assyria had engaged. This war, the subsequent triumph, and the tortures

of the prisoners, formed the theme of many of the sculptures, which ornamented the palace of Assurbanipal. After the flight of the Elamite princes to Assyria, Teumman sent an embassy under Umbadara and Nebodamīq, two of his chiefs, to demand that they should be given up. This Assurbanipal refused, and Teumman then declared war. Some appearance in the heavens was interpreted to indicate the overthrow of Elam; and Assurbanipal was told by the priests, that his favourite Goddess Ishtar of Arbela, had appeared in the night, and prophesied his victory. The description of her appearance in this vision, recalls the winged figure surrounded with a halo and drawing a bow, so often represented over the figures of Assyrian monarchs. The supposed bow of Ishtar appears to have been given to Assurbanipal, who afterwards often mentions it. The Elamite king retired from Duril, on the Assyrian border, at the approach of the forces of Assurbanipal; and took up a position near a town named Tulliz; having the river Ulai in front, and a wood behind his army. On the arrival of the Assyrians before his lines, Teumman sent a general named *Ituni*, to treat with Assurbanipal: but while he was in the Assyrian camp, the opposing forces joined in battle, and the Elamites were routed. *Ituni* broke his bow in despair, and several of the Elamite chiefs, showed a strong sense of the disaster, which placed their country at the mercy of Assurbanipal. Teumman and his eldest son fled, and passing through the wood tried to escape; but their chariot broke down, and they were surrounded and captured. The heads of Teumman and his son were cut off, and from the fact subsequently mentioned, that Tammāritu, Teumman's nephew, denied having done the act, it is evident that there was a belief that he was the murderer. Both Ummanigās and Tammāritu, with their adherents, fought in this battle, against their own country. After the conquest of the Elamites, Assurbanipal sent a general into Madaktu and Shushan, to proclaim Ummanigās (on K, 4796, written 𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 Um-man-i-ga-as) king of Elam; and in place of Istar-nandi the sub-king of Hidalu, (whose head was brought to Assurbanipal) Tammāritu (written sometimes 𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 *Ta-am-ma-ri-it-tu*, 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 *Tamti(?)i-ti*, 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 *Tam-mar-i-ti*, 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 *Tam-ma-ri-ti*, 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 *Ta-am-ma-ri-ti*, and

𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 *Ta-am-ri-ti*), was made king in Hīdalu. Afterwards, Assurbanipal punished the Gambulians, for revolting in alliance with Elam. The expedition to Gambuli, is given as part of the fifth expedition (which was against Teumman), in Cylinder A; but in Cylinder B, while the war with Teumman is called the seventh expedition, the war with Gambuli is separated from it by the usual divisional line, and called the eighth expedition. Dunanu the Gambulian, captured in this war, was son of Bilbasa, who assisted Urtaki, and grandson of a chief also named Dunanu. This name was written indifferently, 𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 *Du-na-nu*, and 𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 *Bu-na-nu*. On his triumphal return, Assurbanipal was met at Arbela, by the envoys of Ruṣā king of Ararat or Armenia; who came to make peace with him. Ruṣā is probably the same as the Ṣaduri of Cylinder A. The name means "Istar," is a fortress, and was originally sounded Istar-duri, but by dropping the initial *I* and running the 𐎶𐎶 into 𐎶 the name became 𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 *Ṣa-ar-da-ur-ri* (the name of the king of Ararat who fought with Tiglath Pileser II). The first element in this name, suffered a further change; Ṣar being contracted to Ṣā or Ṣē, as in 𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 *Ṣe-e-du-ri* (the king of Ararat who fought with Shalmaneser II). The name is sometimes written with the position of the elements reversed, and then reads Dur-ṣā, which is probably the origin of 𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 *Ur-sa-a*, and 𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 *Ru-sa-a*, forms of the name of two late kings of Ararat.

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## PART IX.

*The Revolt of Saulmugina, Brother of Assurbanipal.*

## TEXTS.

The texts of this part of the history, are more numerous than those of any other period. Only the most important are here translated, the numbers of some of the others being given at the end for reference. The principal texts are Cylinder A, col. iv, line 6, to col. v, line 43, and Cylinder B, col. vi, line 93, to col. vii, line 87. The text of Cylinder C, which differs from both these, is too mutilated to be worth translating; but the closing passage which continues the narrative of Cylinder B is given. The date from a proclamation of Assurbanipal, K, 84, passages at close of a number of omen tablets, with a series of Epigraphs and Dispatches are also translated.





CYLINDER A, COLUMN IV, LINE 6, TO COLUMN V,  
LINE 43.

6.  [Y 𐎶 𐎶] 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎶  
\* \* \* \* \* Saul - mu - gi - na  
\* \* \* \* \* *Saulmugina*

[𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶] 𐎶𐎶 [𐎶𐎶] 𐎶𐎶 𐎶 [𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶] 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶  
[aḥu la ke] - e - nu [sa ḡabtu e - pu] - su - us  
my (younger, *Elder* [brother; benefits I had given] to him, and

[𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶] 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 [𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶] 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶  
[as - ku - nu - us a - na ṣaru - ut] Bab - ili  
[had appointed him to the kingdom of] *Babylon*

\* \* \* \* \* va ad - din su      \* \* \* \* \* ruqubi  
\* \* \* \* \* and gave him      \* \* \* \* \* chariots




 9. 











ak - žur va                      \*   \*   \*   \*   \*   \*                      alani                      ekili  
*I fixed, and*                      \*   \*   \*   \*   \*   \*                      cities,                      fields

kiri                  [man- da - at - tu]        bilat        u - sa - tir  
and plantations.      [Tribute] and taxes, I caused to return,

va eli abi bani ya                      11. [e - pu - uş                      şu]                      va  
*and more than the father my begetter,                      [I did for him].                      And*








su - u    damqatu    an - ni - tu    12.    [la    ḥa -    aṣ -    ṣa]    va  
*he                    these                    favours                    [disregarded,]                    and*


 13.   
 is - te - ni - ha - a limut - tu                      [niru    belu - ti   ya]  
*devised*                      *evil.*                      [*The yoke of my dominion,*]








iz - la - a du - ub - ba - a - ti

*he threw off, the benefits*

14. 







\* \* \* \* \* su

\* \* \* \* \* \*






15.    
 ka - zir      ni - sa - tu      \* \* \* \* \*      eli  
*strengtheners of men(?)*      \* \* \* \* \*      *over*

Assur am - ru  
Assyria I ruled.

16. [a - na sa - ha - al salim - mi] ya  
[To pray for] my [friendship]

17.                        <



Assur u - su - (uz) - zu i - dag - ga - lu  
*Assyria they were set up, they were honoured*

27. pa - an sa - kan de - mi ya va su - u  
*before the giving of my command. And he*

Saul -mu- gi - na ahu la ke - e - nu sa  
*Saulmugina, my younger brother; who*

la iz - zu - ru a - di - ya nisi Akkad  
*did not keep my agreement, the people of Akkad,*

Kal-du A- ru (v. ra) -mu tam- ti ul - tu  
*Chaldea, Aram, and the sea coast, from*

A - qa - ba a - di Bab - sa - li - mi - ti  
*Aqaba to Babsalimitu,*

31. ardi da - gil pa - ni ya us - pal - kit ina qati ya  
*tributaries dependent on me; he caused to revolt against my hand.*

32. va \* Um - man - i - gas mun - nab - tu sa . iz - ba - tu  
*And Ummanigas the fugitive, who took*

33. niru saru - ti ya sa ki - rib Elam  
*the yoke of my kingdom, of whom in Elam,*

34. as - ku - nu - us a - na sar - u - ti va sarri  
*I had appointed him to the kingdom; and the kings of*

𐎶 𐎠𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵 35. 𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵 𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶  
 Gu - ti Mar - tu Mi - luh - he - e  
*Arabia(?) , Syria and Ethiopia,*

36. 𐎶𐎵 - 𐎶𐎵𐎵𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶  
 sa ina ki - bit Assur va Belat is - tak - ka - na  
*which, by command of Assur and Beltis, my hands*

𐎶𐎵𐎵𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎵 37. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶  
 qata - ai 𐎶𐎵𐎶 nap - har su - nu it - ti ya u - san - kir va  
*held; all of them against me he caused to rebel, and*

38. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶  
 it - ti su is - ku - nu pi - i su - un nisi  
*with him they set their faces. The people of*

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶 39. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶  
 Sipar Bab - ili Bar - sip  
*Sippara, Babylon, Borsippa, and*

[𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶] 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶 40. [𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶] 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶  
 [Kutu] ip - ru - sa ah - u - ut [bit] duri  
 [Kutha,] broke off the brotherhood, and the walls

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶  
 alani sa - a - tu - nu\* mun - tah - ze - e su  
*of those cities his fighting men he*

41. [𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶] 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶  
 [u] - sat - li - ma it - ti ya [e] - ta - nap  
*caused to raise; with me they made*

(v. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶) 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶 42. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶  
 (v. te - ni - ip) - pu - su ta - ha - zu e - pis \* \* \* \*  
*war, making \* \* \* \**

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶 43. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶  
 ya la pa - an Bel ablu Bel nu - ur Ili  
*my, from the face of Bel son of Bel, the light of the Gods*

𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
 Samas qu - ra - du Ninip iq - su va  
*Shamas, the warrior Ninip, he revolted; and*

44. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵  
 u - sab - di - la \* \* \* \* na - dan zi - bi ya  
*he caused to cease \* \* \* \* gift of my fingers,*

45. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
 a - na e - kim ma - ha - zi su - bat Ili sa  
*to capture the cities, seats of the Gods, of whom*

46. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
 es - ri - ti su - nu ud - di - su u - za - hi - i - nu  
*their temples I had restored, adorned with*

47. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
 huraz va kasap ki - rib su - nu as - tak - ka - nu  
*gold and silver, and within them had fixed*

(v. 𐎶𐎵) 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 48. 𐎶𐎵  
 (v. na) ši - ma - a - ti ik - bu - ud limut ina  
*images; he devised evil. In*

𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 (𐎶𐎵) 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
 innmi su (va) istin sapru ina sat mu - si u - tul va  
*those days, then a seer in the middle of the night, slept and*

49. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
 i - na - tal suttu um - ma ina eli ki - gal - li  
*dreamed a dream, thus: "Concerning the matter*

𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 (v. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵) 𐎶𐎵 50. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
 sa Sin sa - dir (v. di - ir) va ma - a sa it - ti  
*which Sin was arranging, and of them who against*

𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 51. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
 Assur - bani - pal šar Assur ik - bu - du  
*Assurbanipal king of Assyria, devised*

(𐎶𐎵) 𐎶𐎥 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎶 I 𐎶𐎥 (𐎶𐎶) 𐎶𐎥 (𐎶) 𐎶 52. 𐎶𐎶 𐎶 𐎶𐎥  
 limut - tu ip - pu - su ze - (e) - lu - (u) - tu mu - u - tu  
*evil. Battle is prepared; a violent*

𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎥 𐎶𐎶 I 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 - 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶  
 lim - nu a - sar - rak su - nu - ti ina gir parzil ha - au - di  
*death I appoint for them. With the edge of the sword,*

53. 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 (v. 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶)  
 mi - kit isati şunqu libit (v. li - bit)  
*the burning of fire, famine, and the judgment of*

𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 54. 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶  
 Ninip u - qat - ta - a nap - sat su - un  
*Ninip, I will destroy their lives."*

𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶  
 an - na - a - ti as - me - e va ad - gil a - na a - mat Sin  
*This I heard, and trusted to the will of Sin*

55. 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶<sup>y</sup> 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶  
 bel ya ina sassi gar - ri ya ad - ki unman ya  
*my lord. In my sixth expedition I gathered my army;*

56. 𐎶𐎶𐎶 I 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶  
 zir Saul - mu - gi - na us - te - es - se - ra  
*against Saulmugina I directed the*

𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 57. 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶  
 mur - ra - nu ki - rib Şipar Bab - ili  
*march. Within Sippara, Babylon,*

𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 58. 𐎶𐎶 I 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶  
 Bar - sip Kutu sa - a - su ga - du  
*Borsippa, and Kutha, him and part*

𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 I 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 (v. 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶)  
 mun - taḥ - ze - e su e - şı - ir va u - zab - bit (v. bi - ta)  
*of his fighting men I besieged, and captured*

59. mu - uz - za su - un ki - rib alu va ziru ina la mi - ni  
*the whole of them in town and country, without number.*

60. as - tak - ka - na abikta su ši - it - tu - ti  
*I accomplished his overthrow. The rest,*

61. ina libit Ninip şu - un - qu bu - bu - ti  
*in the judgment of Ninip, drought and famine*

62. is - ku - nu na - pis - tu Um - man - i - gas şar  
*passed their lives. Ummanigas king of*

63. Elam si - kin qati ya sa da - ha - a - tu  
*Elam, appointed by my hand; who the bribe*

im - hu - ru su it - ba - a ana (v. a - na) kiṭ - ri su  
*received, and came to his aid.*

64. Tam - ma - ri - tu zir - us - su ip - pal - kit va sa - a - su  
*Tammaritu against him revolted, and him*

65. ga - du kim - ti su u - raş (v. ra) - şib su ina kakki  
*and part of his family he destroyed with the sword.*

66. arku Tam - ma - ri - tu sa arku Um - man - i - gas  
*Afterwards Tammaritu, who after Ummanigas,*

67. u - si - bu ina kuzzu Elam  
*sat on the throne of Elam,*

68. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
 la is - al su-lum šaru - ti ya a - na ri - zu - tu  
*did not seek alliance with my kingdom. To the help of*

69. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
 Saul - mu - gi - na aḫi nak - ri  
*Saulmugina my rebellious brother*

(v. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵) 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 70. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
 (v. aḫu la ke - e - nu) il - lik - av - va a - na  
 (v. younger brother), he went and to

𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
 mit - ḫu - zi umman ya ur - ri - ḫa kakki su  
*fight my army, he prepared his soldiers.*

71. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
 ina šu - up - pe - e sa Assur va Istar u - šap - pu - u  
*In prayer to Assur and Ishtar, I prayed;*

72. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
 ta - ni - ḫi ya im - ḫu - ru (v. il - qu - u)  
*my supplications they received (v. took),*

𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 73. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
 is - mu - u zi - kar sapti ya In - da - bi-gas  
*and heard the words of my lips. Indabigas*

𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 (v. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵) 𐎶𐎵  
 arad šu zir - us - su ip - pal - kit (v. ki - tu) va  
*his servant, against him revolted, and*

74. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
 ina taḫaz zin is - ku - na abikta su Tam-ma- ri - tu  
*in the battlefield accomplished his overthrow. Tammaritu*

𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 75. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
 šar Elam sa eli ni - kiš qaqaḏu  
*king of Elam, who over the decapitated head of*

Te - um - man me - ri - ih - tu ig - bu - u  
*Teumman untruth had spoken;*

76. sa ik - ki - šu a - hu - ru - u umman ya  
*which he had cut off in sight of my army,*

77. um [ma la] ak - ki - šu qaqadu šar Elam  
*thus: "I have [not] cut off the head of the king of Elam*

78. \* \* \* \* ina puḥri umman su sa - ni - ha - a - nu ig - bi  
*\* \* \* \* in the assembly of his army." Again he said:*

79. va Um - man - i - gas ke - e u - na - as - siq  
*"and Ummanigas only, kissed the*

80. qaq - qa - ru ina maḥri a - mir - i sa  
*ground; in the presence of the envoys of*

81. Assur - bani - pal šar Assur eli  
*Assurbanipal king of Assyria." For*

a - ma - a - ti an - na - a - ti sa il - zi - nu  
*these matters, which he had mocked,*

82. Assur va Istar i - ri - ḥu su va Tam - ma - ri - tu  
*Assur and Ishtar turned from him; and Tammaritu*

83. aḥi su qi - nu su ziri bit abi su it - ti  
*his brothers, his kin, the seed of his father's house with*



92. > >𐎶𐎵 >𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵 >𐎶𐎵 >𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 >𐎶𐎵 >𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
 ina maḥ - ri ya i - zi - zu va i - tal - la - lu  
*In my presence he stood up, and glorified the*

93. 𐎶𐎵 <𐎶𐎵 >𐎶𐎵 >𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 >𐎶𐎵 <𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶 >𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵  
 qur - di Ili ya dan - nu - ti sa il - li - ku  
*might of my powerful Gods, who went to*

>𐎶𐎵 <𐎶𐎵 >𐎶𐎵 <𐎶𐎵 94. 𐎶𐎵 >𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 | >𐎶𐎵 >𐎶𐎵 >𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 >𐎶𐎵  
 ri - zu - ti a - na - ku Assur-bani- pal lib - bu  
*my help. I Assurbanipal, of generous*

𐎶𐎵𐎶 | 95. >𐎶𐎵 >𐎶𐎵 >𐎶𐎵𐎶 >𐎶𐎵𐎶 <𐎶𐎵𐎶 <𐎶𐎵𐎶 >𐎶𐎵 >𐎶𐎵  
 rap - su la ka - zir ik - ki - mu pa - ši - šu  
*heart, of defection the remover, forgiver of*

>𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵 <𐎶𐎵 96. 𐎶𐎵 >𐎶𐎵 | >𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 >𐎶𐎵 >𐎶𐎵 >𐎶𐎵 >𐎶𐎵 >𐎶𐎵  
 ḥi - da - a - ti a - na Tam-ma- ri - tu re - e - mu  
*sin; to Tammari tu favour*

<𐎶𐎵 >𐎶𐎵 <𐎶𐎵 | 𐎶𐎵 97. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 | 𐎶𐎵𐎶 >𐎶𐎵 >𐎶𐎵 >𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵 |  
 ar - si su va sa - a - su ga - du ziri bit abi su  
*I granted him, and himself, and part of the seed of his father's*

<𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 98. <𐎶𐎵 >𐎶𐎵 >𐎶𐎵 >𐎶𐎵 >𐎶𐎵 >𐎶𐎵  
 ki - rib e - kal ya ul - ziz šu - nu - ti ina  
*house, within my palace I placed them. In*

>𐎶𐎵 | 𐎶𐎵 | 𐎶𐎵𐎶 | >𐎶𐎵𐎶 <𐎶𐎵𐎶 99. 𐎶𐎵 >𐎶𐎵 >𐎶𐎵 <𐎶𐎵  
 im - mi su nisi Akkad sa it - ti  
*those days the people of Akkad, who with*

| >𐎶𐎵 >𐎶𐎵 >𐎶𐎵 >𐎶𐎵 >𐎶𐎵 >𐎶𐎵 >𐎶𐎵 >𐎶𐎵 100. >𐎶𐎵 >𐎶𐎵 >𐎶𐎵  
 Saul - mu - gi - na is - sak - nu ik - bu - du  
*Saulmugina were placed, and devised*

>𐎶𐎵 <𐎶𐎵𐎶 >𐎶𐎵 >𐎶𐎵 >𐎶𐎵 >𐎶𐎵 >𐎶𐎵 >𐎶𐎵 101. 𐎶𐎵 >𐎶𐎵  
 limut ni - ip - ri - tu iṣ - bat šu - nu - ti a - na  
*evil; famine took them, for their*

bu - ri su-nu şeri abli su-nu binti şu-nu  
*food the flesh of their sons and their daughters*

102. e - ki - lu ik - şu - şu ku - ru - uş - şu  
*they did eat, and divided the \* \* \* \**

103. Assur Sin Samas Vul Bel Nabu  
*Assur, Sin, Shamas, Vul, Bel, Nebo,*

104. Istar sa Ninua Il şar - rat kit - mu - ri  
*Ishtar of Nineveh, the divine queen of Kitmuri,*

105. Istar sa Arba - il Ninip Nergal Nusku  
*Ishtar of Arbela, Ninip, Nergal, and Nusku,*

106. sa ina maḥ - ri ya il - li - ku i - na - ru  
*who in my presence marched and destroyed*

ga - ri ya 107. Saul - mu - gi - na aḥi nak - ri  
*my enemies: Salmugina my rebellious brother,*

108. sa i - gi - ra an-ni ina me-kit isati a - [ri] - ri  
*who made war with me; in the fierce burning fire*

109. id - du su va u - ḥal - li - qu nap-sat şu  
*they threw him, and destroyed his life.*

110. va nisi sa a - na Saul - mu - gi - na  
*And the people who to Saulmugina*

111. ahi nak - ri u - sak - pi - du  
*my rebellious brother, he had caused to join,*

112. ip - se - e - tu an - ni - tu limut - tu e - pu - su  
*and these evil things did;*

113. sa me - tu - tu ib - ba - hu nap - sat su - nu  
*who death deserved, their lives*

114. pa - nu - us - su - un te - bis - u va it - ti  
*before them being precious: with*

Saul - mu - gi - na bel su - nu la im - qu - tu  
*Saulmugina their lord, they did not burn*

ina isati (la) pa - an ni - kiş gir parzil  
*in the fire, (from) before the edge of the sword,*

117. su - un - ki (v. qu) bu - bu - ti (v. tu) isati  
*dearth, famine, and the burning*

a - ri - ri i - se - tu - u - ni e - hu - zu  
*fire, they had fled, and taken*

mar - ki - tu [ti] - bu - ut Ili rabati  
*refuge. The stroke of the great Gods*

119. beli ya sa la na - par - su - di  
*my lords, which was not removed*

120.  $\text{is} - \text{hu} - \text{up}$   $\text{su-nu} - \text{ti}$   $\text{e} - \text{du}$   $\text{ul}$   $\text{ip} - \text{par-sid}$   
*overwhelmed them. One did not flee,*

121.  $\text{mul} - \text{tah} - \text{du}$   $\text{ul}$   $\text{u} - \text{zi}$   $\text{ina qati ya}$   
*a sinner did not escape from my hands,*

122.  $\text{im} - \text{nu-u qatu}$  (v.  $\text{qa} - \text{tu}$ )  $- \text{u a ruqubi}$   $\text{sa-da-di}$   
*my hands held [them]. Powerful war chariots,*

123.  $\text{ruqubi zil} - \text{li}$   $\text{zik-re} - \text{e} - \text{ti su}$   
*covered chariots, his concubines [and]*

## COLUMN V.

1.  $\text{sa-ga}$  (v.  $\text{sa-su}$ )  $\text{e-kal su}$   $\text{u-bil-u-ni}$   
*the goods (v. furniture) of his palace, they brought*







$[\text{a-di}]$   $\text{mah-ri ya}$  2.  $\text{nisi}$   $\text{sa-a-tu-nu}$   
*[to] my presence. Those men [who] the*

$\text{suq-la-tu}$   $\text{pi-i su-nu}$  3.  $\text{eli}$   $\text{Assur Ili ya}$   
*curses of their mouth, against Assur my God*

$\text{suq-la-tu}$   $\text{ig-bu-u}$  4.  $[\text{va}]$   $\text{ya-a-ti}$   
*curses uttered; [and against] me, the*

$\text{rubu pa-lah}$   $\text{su ik-bu-du-ni}$   $\text{limut-tu}$   
*prince his worshipper, had devised evil:*



Ili            rabati            beli            ya                            pagari            nisi

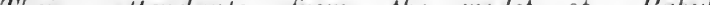
*great    Gods    my    lords.                            The bodies of the men*







15. 15.

𐎲𐎠𐎫𐎧𐎺𐎠 (v. 𐎠𐎫𐎧𐎺) 𐎲𐎠𐎫𐎧𐎺 𐎠𐎫𐎧𐎺 𐎠𐎫𐎧𐎺 𐎠𐎫𐎧𐎺 𐎠𐎫𐎧𐎺 𐎠𐎫𐎧𐎺 𐎠𐎫𐎧𐎺  
 šu - un - ki (v. qī) bu - bu - ti is - ku - nu na - pis - tu  
*drought and famine had passed their lives;*

16.   
 ri - hi - it u -gab \* \* ti kalbi dabi  
 \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \*  
*dogs, bears,*

17.   
 sa-tur- i bur- ru \* \* \* \* iz-lu- u ri - ba - a - ti  
*saturi,* *burru* \* \* \* \* *grew (?)* *fat.*

18.    
 ner-pad-du - i su-nu-ti ul -tu ki -rib Bab - ili  
*Their attendants from the midst of Babylon,*

19.    -     
Kutu Sipar u - se zi va  
*Kutha and Sippara, I brought out*

20.                        
          at - ta - di    a - na       na - ka - ma - a - ti  
          *and*               *placed*               *in*               *slavery.*

21. > <| - 𐀭 | 𐀮 𐀮 | - 𐀮 - 𐀮 | < 𐀮 | 𐀮 𐀮 I 𐀮 𐀮 𐀮 𐀮  
ina si - par i - sib - bu - ti      parakki su-nu ub - bi \* \*  
*In splendour, the seats of their sanctuaries I built(?)*.

22.   
 ul - le - la su - (ul) - le - (e) su-nu lu - hu -u- ti  
*I raised their glorious (?) towers.*

23. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶  
 Ili su-nu zi-nu-u-ti Istari su-nu  
*Their Gods dishonoured(?), their Goddesses.*

𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 24. 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶  
 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 u-ni-ih ina tak-kal-ti  
*desecrated(?), I rested in purple*

𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 25. 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶  
 va unninnu(?) vad-duk-ki su-un sa  
*and hangings(?). Their institutions, which*

𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 (v. 𐎶𐎵𐎶) 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶  
 i-mi-zu ki-ma (v. kima) sa im-mi ul-lu-u-ti  
*they had removed, like in days of old,*

26. 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 (v. 𐎶𐎵𐎶) 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶  
 ina sal-mi (v. me) u-tir va u-kin  
*in peace I restored and settled.*

27. 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶  
 𐎶𐎵𐎶 it-ti abli Bab-ili Kutu  
*The rest of the sons of Babylon, Kuthu,*

28. 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶  
 Sipar sa ina sib-di sak-bi-ti  
*and Sippara, who under chastisement, suffering,*

29. 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 30. 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶  
 va ni-ip-ri-ti i-se-tu-u-ni re-e-mu  
*and privation had fled; favour*

𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶  
 ar-si su-nu-ti ba-lad naps-ti su-nu ag-bi  
*I granted them, the saving of their lives I commanded:*

31. 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶  
 ki-rib Bab-ili u-se-sib su-nu-ti  
*in Babylon I seated them.*



gi - ne - e (v. nu - u) ris - i Assur va Belat  
*and high ordinances(?) of Assur and Beltis,*

41. va Ili Assur u - kin zir - us - su - un  
*and the Gods of Assyria, I fixed upon them;*

42. bil - tu man - da - at - ti belu - ti ya mat - ti  
*taxes and tribute to my dominion, of the country*

sun - ma la na - par - ka - a e - mid su - nu - ti  
*the sum undiminished I fixed on them.*

CYLINDER B, COLUMN VI, LINE 93, TO COLUMN VII, LINE 87.

93. Um - man - i - gas sa da - ab - tu ma - ha - aş şu  
*Ummanigas, whom, great benefits I*

e - bu - su - us as - ku - nu - us a - na şaru - ut  
*had given him, and appointed him to the kingdom of*

Elam sa damqa - ti la ha - aş - şu  
*Elam; who the favour disregarded, and*

96. la iz - zu - ru a - de - e ma - mit Ili rabati  
*did not keep the agreement and oath of the great Gods.*

97. ul - tu qati a - mir - i Saul - mu - gi - na  
*From the hands of the messengers of Saulmugina*

## COLUMN VII.

1. aḥu la ke nu nakiri ya im ḥu - ru  
my younger brother, my enemy, he received a
- da - ha - tu 2. e - mu - qi su it - ti su - un is - pu - ra  
bribe. His forces with them he sent
3. a - na mit - ḥu - zi unman ya 4. za bi taḥaz ya  
to fight my army, my men of war,
- sa ina Gan - dun - ya - as 5. it - ta - na - al - la - ku  
who in Ganduniyas marched, and
- u - kib - ba - šu 6. ina la i - di zi - ir  
trampled on Chaldea. Against my hand(?) unto
- Un - da - ši 7. ablu Te - um - man šar Elam  
Undasi son of Teumman king of Elam,
8. va Zazaz niru Bil - la - te  
and Zazaz chief of Billate,
9. Pa (v. par) - ru - u 10. At - ta - mi - tu nis rab mitpaanu  
Paru chief of Hilmu,
11. Ne - e - su  
and Nesu

𐎶 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 12. 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶  
 a - lik pa - ni umman sa Elam a - na mit-ḥu - zi  
*leader of the army of Elam, to fight*

𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 13. 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶  
 it - ti unman Assur Um -man- i -gas  
*with the army of Assyria, Ummanigas*

𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 14. 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶  
 u -ma- hi - ir su-nu- ti is - kun su-nu- ti  
*sent them, and appointed them*

𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 15. 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶  
 de - e -mu Um -man- i -gas a - na Un - da - ši  
*a decree. Ummanigas to Undasi,*

𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 16. 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶  
 ki - a - am ig - bi um -ma a - lik ul - tu  
*even said, thus: Go; against*

𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 17. 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶  
 Assur tir - ra tuk-te- e abi ba - ni ki  
*Assyria revenge the slaying of the father thy begetter.*

18. 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶  
 Un - da - šu Za - za - az Pa - ru - u  
*Undasu, Zazaz, Paru,*

19. 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 20. 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶  
 At - ta - mi - tu Ne - e - su it - ti  
*Attamitu and Nesu, with*

𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶  
 a - mir - i sa Saul - mu - gi - na  
*the messengers of Saulmugina*

21. 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶  
 aḥu nak - ri ur - ḥu iṣ - [bat - u - niv - va]  
*my rebellious brother; took the road, and*

22. us - te - es - sir - u - ni inur - ra - nu zabi  
directed the march. My men

tahaz ya sa ina Gan - dun - ya - as  
of war, who in Ganduniyas

24. it - ta - na - al - la - ku u - [kib - ba - šu  
marched, and trampled [on

25. 26.   
Kal - du] \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \*  
Chaldea] \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \*

27. I At - ta - mi - tu  
Elam Attamitu  
Elam

28. [ik - ki] - šu - niv - va  
\* \* \* \* \* they cut off and  
\* \* \* \* \*

29. [u - bil - u - ni a - di] maḥ - ri ya  
[brought to] my presence.

30. an - na - a - ti 31.   
\* \* \* \* \* these \* \* \* \* \*

32. si ik - la va  
Um - man - i - gas \* \* \* \* \* he ceased and  
Ummanigas \* \* \* \* \*

33. ti a - mat ya 34.   
\* \* \* \* \* my will \* \* \* \* \*

[→|Δ] →|II →|□ →| <→| 35. →| |→→ [→|→| |→→  
 [Assur] Bel Nabu Nergal Ili [rabati  
 [Assur], Bel, Nebo and Nergal, the [great] Gods

→II |→→ →|→| <|✱ →|→→ →|→| →| < 36. →|Δ| →| <  
 beli ya] di - in kit - ti it - ti  
 [my lords;] a certain judgment against

| →|→| << →|→| <|✱ ✱ →|→→ →|→| 37. | →| →| →|→| →|→|  
 Um-man-i-gas i - di - nu in - ni Tam-ma- ri - tu  
 Ummanigas, appointed me. Tammarithu,

→→→ →| | →|→| →|→| →|→| →|→| 38. ▽ |→| | →|→| →|→|  
 zir - us - su ip - pal - kit va sa - a - su ga - du  
 against him revolted, and him and part

<|→| →| < | →|→| →|→| |→| →| →| →| |→→|  
 kim - ti su u - ra - sib ina kakki  
 of his family, he destroyed with the sword.

39. | →| →| →|→| →|→| →|→| →|→| ▽ |→| | →|→| →|→|  
 Tam-ma- ri - tu sa e - la sa - a - su iq - zu  
 → Tammarithu who over him triumphed,

40. →|→| →|→| |→| →| →| →| →| →| →| 41. <|→| →|  
 u - sib ina kuzzu Elam ki - ma  
 sat on the throne of Elam. Like

▽ |→| | →| →| →|→| →|→| |→| →| →|→| →|→| 42. <|→| →|→| →|→|  
 sa - a - su va da - ha - a - tu im - har ul is - al  
 him also, a bribe he received; - he did not seek

→| →| →|→→ →| < →|→| 43. |→| →|→| →|→| →|→| →|→|  
 su - lun šaru - ti ya a - na ri - zu - tu  
 alliance with my kingdom. To the help

(v. →|→| →|→|) |→→| →| →|→| →|→| →|→| →|→| 44. →|→→ →|→|  
 (v. kit - ri) Saul - mu - gi - na ahu la  
 (v. aid) of Sautmugina my younger

𐎠𐎵𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎥𐎵 𐎠𐎥𐎵𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎥𐎵 𐎠𐎥𐎵𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎥𐎵 45. 𐎠𐎥𐎵𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎥𐎵 𐎠𐎥𐎵𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎥𐎵  
ke - e - nu il - lik - av - va a - na mit - hu - uz - zi  
brother he went, and to fight

𐎠𐎥𐎵𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎥𐎵 𐎠𐎥𐎵𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎥𐎵 𐎠𐎥𐎵𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎥𐎵 46. 𐎠𐎥𐎵𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎥𐎵  
uniman ya ur - ri - ha kakki su ina  
my army he prepared his soldiers. In

𐎠𐎥𐎵𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎥𐎵 𐎠𐎥𐎵𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎥𐎵 𐎠𐎥𐎵𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎥𐎵 𐎠𐎥𐎵𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎥𐎵 𐎠𐎥𐎵𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎥𐎵  
šu - up - pe - e sa Assur va Istar u - šap - pu - u  
prayer Assur and Ishtar I had prayed ;

47. 𐎠𐎥𐎵𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎥𐎵 𐎠𐎥𐎵𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎥𐎵 𐎠𐎥𐎵𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎥𐎵 𐎠𐎥𐎵𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎥𐎵  
ta - ni - hi ya im - hu - ru is - mu - u zi - kar  
my supplication they received, and heard the words of

𐎠𐎥𐎵𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎥𐎵 48. 𐎠𐎥𐎵𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎥𐎵 𐎠𐎥𐎵𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎥𐎵 𐎠𐎥𐎵𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎥𐎵  
šapti ya ardi su zir - us - su ip - pal - ki - tu va  
my lips. His servants against him revolted, and

49. 𐎠𐎥𐎵𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎥𐎵 𐎠𐎥𐎵𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎥𐎵 𐎠𐎥𐎵𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎥𐎵 𐎠𐎥𐎵𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎥𐎵  
a - ha - mis u - ra - ši - bu adi limut ya  
each other they destroyed, to my evil

(v. 𐎠𐎥𐎵𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎥𐎵 𐎠𐎥𐎵𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎥𐎵) 50. 𐎠𐎥𐎵𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎥𐎵 𐎠𐎥𐎵𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎥𐎵  
(v. damqati ya) In - da - bi - gas arad šu  
(v. benefit.) Indabigas his servant, who

𐎠𐎥𐎵𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎥𐎵 𐎠𐎥𐎵𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎥𐎵 51. 𐎠𐎥𐎵𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎥𐎵 𐎠𐎥𐎵𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎥𐎵 𐎠𐎥𐎵𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎥𐎵  
sa ši - hu eli su u - sab - su - u u - sib  
the revolt against him made, sat

𐎠𐎥𐎵𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎥𐎵 𐎠𐎥𐎵𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎥𐎵 52. 𐎠𐎥𐎵𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎥𐎵 𐎠𐎥𐎵𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎥𐎵  
ina kuzzu su Tam - ma - ri - tu šar Elam  
on his throne. Tammari - tu king of Elam,

53. 𐎠𐎥𐎵𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎥𐎵 𐎠𐎥𐎵𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎥𐎵 𐎠𐎥𐎵𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎥𐎵 54. 𐎠𐎥𐎵𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎥𐎵  
sa mi - ri - ih - tu ig - bu - u eli  
who untruth had spoken, concerning

ni - kis qaquadu Te - um - man sa ik - ki - šu  
*the decapitated head of Teumman; which he had cut off*

a - hu - ru - u umman ya va ahi su  
*in sight of my army: and his brothers,*

qi - nu su ziri bit abi su it - ti 85 rubi  
*his kin, the seed of his father's house, with eighty-five princes of*

Elam a - li - kut i - di idi su  
*Elam, marching before him;*

sa la pa-an kakki Assur va Istar ip - par - su - du  
*who from the face of the soldiers of Assur and Ishtar fled,*

(59 to 68 lost.) 69. e a  
*va and*

Tam - ma - ri - tu ga - [du ziri bit abi su]  
*Tammaritu and part [of the seed of his fathers house]*

ki - rib e - kal ya ul - [ziz šu - nu - ti]  
*in my palace I placed [them].*

In - da - bi - gas sa arku Tam - ma - ri - tu  
*Indabigas who after Tammaritu,*

u - si - bu ina kuzzu Elam  
*sat on the throne of Elam;*

74. da - na - an kakki ya e - mur va sa  
the power of my servants saw, whom

(ul - tu re - e - si) u - san - ri - ru eli Elam  
(from the first) I had caused to march over Elam.

76. abli Assur sa as - pu - ra a - na  
The sons of Assur, whom I sent to

kit - ri Nabu - bel - zikri ablu Maruduk - bal - iddina  
aid Nebobelzikri the son of Merodachbaladan,

sa ki - ma ip - ri tap - pe - e - a na - zir mata su  
who like an earth-wall guarding his country,

it - ta - na - al - la - ku it - ti su sa  
marched with him; whom










Nabu - bel - zikri ina pi - ir - za - a - ti  
Nebobelzikri by treachery












81. (v. u) - zab - bi - tu u - bi - lu it - ti su ina  
had captured, and taken with him in a














ki - li In - da - bi - gas sar Elam  
boat, Indabigas king of Elam,














83. ul - tu bit abi [su] u - se - za - as - su - nu - ti  
from the house of [his] fathers sent them.


































  
 Nabu - bel - zikri ina pi - ir - za - a - ti  
*Nebobelzikri by treachery*












93. 










  
 u - zab - bi - tu u - bi - lu it - ti su ina  
*had captured, and taken with him. By the*

























  
 qati a - mir su a - na In - da - bi - gas ki - a - am  
*hand of his envoy to Indabigas, even I*

























  
 as - pur su va [as] - su nisi sa - a - tu - nu - (te) la  
*sent to him also, If those men thou dost not*





















  
 tu - se - bi - la um - ma al - la - kav - va alani ka  
*send, thus; I will march; thy cities*











  
 a - na - qar nisi Su - sa - an Ma - dak - tu  
*I will destroy; the people of Shushan, Madaktu and*












  
 Hi - da - lu a - sal - lal [ul] - tu kuzzu šaru - ti  
*Hiidalu, I will carry off; from thy royal throne,*












  
 ka a - dak - ki ka va [sa] nam - ma ina kuzzu  
*I will hurl thee; and another on thy throne,*












  
 ka u - [se - sib] \* \* mis ina pan Te - um - man  
*I will seat. As, formerly Teumman*









  
 u - sap - ri - ku u - san - har ka  
*I crushed; I will cause to destroy thee,*



111. 𐎶 𐎠𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎠𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎠𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎠𐎵𐎶 (v. 𐎶𐎠𐎵𐎶) 𐎶 112. [𐎶𐎠𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎠𐎵𐎶]  
 Elam is-hu-up (v. huup) va [mat šu zir]  
*Elam overwhelmed, and [his country against]*

𐎶 𐎶𐎠𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎠𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎠𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎠𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎠𐎵𐎶 113. 𐎶𐎠𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎠𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎠𐎵𐎶  
 In - da - bi-gas ip - pal - ki - tu i - na - ru - us  
*Indabigas revolted, and they destroyed him*

𐎶 𐎶𐎠𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎠𐎵𐎶 114. 𐎶𐎠𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎠𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎠𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎠𐎵𐎶  
 ina kakki Um-man-al-da-ši ablu  
*with the sword. Ummamulasi son of*

𐎶 𐎶𐎠𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎠𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎠𐎵𐎶 115. 𐎶𐎠𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎠𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎠𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎠𐎵𐎶  
 At - ta - mi - tu u - si - bu ina kuzzu su  
*Attamitu, sat on his throne.*

DATE AT CLOSE OF A PROCLAMATION TO THE BABYLONIANS,  
 K, 84.

𐎶𐎠𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎠𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎠𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎠𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎠𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎠𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎠𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎠𐎵𐎶  
 Araḥ Airu immi 23 lin - mu Assur - dur - uzur  
*Month Iyyar, twenty-third day, evening Assurduruzur.*



𐎶𐎠𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎠𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎠𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎠𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎠𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎠𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎠𐎵𐎶  
 Sa - mas-balad- šu - ig - bi it - ta - bel  
*Shamasbaladsuigbi brought [it].*

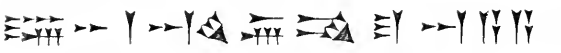

# OMEN TABLET FRAGMENT.


a. 𐎶𐎠𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎠𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎠𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎠𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎠𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎠𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎠𐎵𐎶  
 A - na Babili i - tir - ru  
*To Babylon they turned,*

b. 𐎶𐎠𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎠𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎠𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎠𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎠𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎠𐎵𐎶 c. 𐎶𐎠𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎠𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎠𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎠𐎵𐎶  
 Saul - mu - gi - na a - na qati su - un  
*Saulmugina to their hands they*



 d.  e.   
 i - ba - aq - qu su                      summi                      arah Duvazu immi  
*drew him away(?)*.                      Omens.                      Month Tammuz,


 f.   
 27                      lim - mu                      Assur - dur - uzur                      Bel - u - sal - lim  
*twenty-seventh day, eponym Assurduruzur.*                      Belusallim


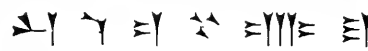
 g.   
 hal                      Hi - sa - am - ma - il - ai                      ina adi                      de - e - mi  
*the hal and Hisammailai,*                      at                      command



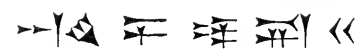
  
 ina lib - e - kal esse e - tap - pu - su  
*in the midst of the new palace made.*



PASSAGE AT THE CLOSE OF OMEN TABLET K, 159.

a.  b.   
                     Nabu - bel -                      zikri                      tam - ti - ai                      la nazir  
                     Nebobelzikri                      the                      seaman                      disregards the

  
 dabtu                      Assur - bani - pal sar                      Assur                      bin - ut qati ka bel su  
*benefits of Assurbanipal king of Assyria the work of thy hands his lord,*

 d.   
 sa ni - is sumi ka rab - a                      qa - lis iz - kur - u va  
*who the worship of thy great name*                      always celebrated and

 e.    
 i - mi - su sal - dis                      i - nin - na                      Assur - bani - pal sar  
*is valiant martially.*                      Again,                      Assurbanipal king of

 f.   
 Assur                      pa - luh ka is - mu - u va                      um - ma  
*Assyria                      thy worshipper has heard also                      this:*

mitpanu ina Elam up - tah - ħar illiku (?)  
*"The archers in Elam have gathered and marched*

i. itti zabi id - dan sa Assur - bani - pal sar Assur  
*with the men belonging to Assurbanipal king of Assyria,*

lu - u Assur - ai lu - u Akkad  
*the Assyrians, the Akkadians,*

lu - u kal - da - ai lu - u  
*the Chaldeans, and the*

Gun - dun - i sa niri Assur - bani - pal bin - ut  
*Gandunians, who the yoke of Assurbanipal the work*

qati ka \* \* tu ana epes kakki qabal va taħaz  
*of thy hands have rejected(?) to make fighting, war and battle*

itti su - nu im - maħ - ħa - a - za ul - ħabu  
*with them he was prepared. Not good,*

p. e - zib sa - du va lu - u ina mi - šir sa Elam  
*excepting the mountain which is in the border of Elam,*

q. lu - u ina mi - šir sa ma ti su uzzizu va lu - u  
*which along the border of his country joined, and which*

a - na pul - luħ lu - u a - na za - bat qati va mi - šir  
*through fearing to be captured in hand, the border*

-E1 L1 ->1< -E1 <E1 E111      t. ->1< E1E1 <1 V E1E1  
 la ip - pal - ak - ki - ta      arah Nisannu immi 4  
*did not revolt. Month Nisan, fourth day,*

<1- >E1 1 E1E1 >E1      u. 1 ->1< E111 E1E1E1 << 1 E111 11 11  
 lim-mu      Ša-gab      Assur-da-in-sar Dan-ai  
*eponym Sagab, Assurdainsar and Danai*

-11 E1      c. 1->1 <111 E111 E1- E1E1- E11 E1  
 bel - ku      saptu lib e - kal esse e - tap-su  
*the belku in the new palace made.*

PASSAGE AT CLOSE OF OMEN TABLET K, 4696.

a. [>1<] <<< E1 E1E1E1E1      b. >E1 1 ->1 <E1 E1- >E1  
 Sin - tab - ni - uzur      ablu Nin - gal-iddina  
*Sintabniuzur son of Ningaliddina,*

c. [E111] 1 <->1< E1E1E1 <E1E1 <E1      d. [E111] <1- E111 ->1< 1  
 [sa] ana eli      Ur      [ip] - pi - kit pi su  
 [who] over      Ur      was appointed, his face

< <111 1      e. [E1E1] ->1< 1 ->1< E1 ->E1 >E1 ->1< >1- >E1E1E1E1E1  
 va lib su      [it - ti]      Saul -mu- gi - na \* \* \*  
*and his heart [with] Saulmugina \* \* \**

REVERSE.

[->1<] E1E1- <1 <1 E1E1 <1- >E1 1 [E1E1 >E1]  
 arah Abu immi 11 lim-mu [Ša-gab]  
*Month Ab, eleventh day, eponym [Sagab]*

## PASSAGE AT CLOSE OF OMEN TABLET K, 28.

- a. [𒀭𒍪𒍪] 𒀭𒍪 𒀭𒍪 𒀭𒍪 𒀭𒍪 𒀭𒍪 𒀭𒍪 𒀭𒍪 𒀭𒍪 𒀭𒍪 [𒀭𒍪]  
 [Ta] immi 22 sa arah an - ni - i arah Duvazu  
*From the twenty-second day of this month, the month Tammuz,*
- b. [𒀭𒍪𒍪𒍪] 𒀭𒍪 𒀭𒍪 𒀭𒍪 𒀭𒍪 𒀭𒍪 𒀭𒍪 𒀭𒍪 𒀭𒍪 𒀭𒍪 [𒀭𒍪]  
 [a - di] immi 22 sa arah abu sa sanat an - [na]  
 [to] the twenty-second day of the month Ab of this year.
- c. [𒀭𒍪𒍪] 𒀭𒍪 𒀭𒍪 𒀭𒍪 𒀭𒍪 𒀭𒍪 𒀭𒍪 𒀭𒍪 𒀭𒍪 𒀭𒍪  
 Sin - tab - ni - u - zur ablu su sa  
*Sintabniuzur, his son of*
- d. [𒀭𒍪𒍪] 𒀭𒍪 𒀭𒍪 𒀭𒍪 𒀭𒍪 𒀭𒍪 𒀭𒍪 𒀭𒍪 𒀭𒍪 e. [𒀭𒍪𒍪] 𒀭𒍪 𒀭𒍪  
 Nin - gal - iddina it - ti [Assur] - bani - pal  
*Ningaliddina, with Assurbanipal*
- 𒀭𒍪 𒀭𒍪 𒀭𒍪 𒀭𒍪 𒀭𒍪 𒀭𒍪 𒀭𒍪 𒀭𒍪 f. 𒀭𒍪 𒀭𒍪 𒀭𒍪 𒀭𒍪 𒀭𒍪 𒀭𒍪 𒀭𒍪 𒀭𒍪  
 sar Assur binut qati ka \* \* \* \* i - ru it - ti  
*king of Assyria, the work of thy hands \* \* \* \* [made war(?)] with*
- 𒀭𒍪 𒀭𒍪 𒀭𒍪 𒀭𒍪 𒀭𒍪 𒀭𒍪 𒀭𒍪 𒀭𒍪 g. 𒀭𒍪 𒀭𒍪 𒀭𒍪 𒀭𒍪 𒀭𒍪 𒀭𒍪 𒀭𒍪 𒀭𒍪  
 Saul - mu - gi - na \* \* \* \* lu - u it - ti  
*Saulmugina \* \* \* \* with*
- h. 𒀭𒍪 𒀭𒍪 𒀭𒍪 𒀭𒍪 𒀭𒍪 𒀭𒍪 𒀭𒍪 𒀭𒍪  
 \* \* \* \* lib - ba - su  
 \* \* \* \* his heart.

## PASSAGE AT CLOSE OF OMEN TABLET K, 1360.

- a. 𒀭𒍪𒍪 𒀭𒍪 𒀭𒍪 𒀭𒍪 𒀭𒍪 𒀭𒍪 𒀭𒍪 𒀭𒍪 𒀭𒍪  
 Ultu immi 8 sa arah an - ni arah Abu  
*From the eighth day of this month, the month Ab,*

b. a- di immi 7 sa arah Ululu zabi Elami  
to the seventh day of the month Elul. The men of Elam

c. up - tah - ha - ru - u uk - taz - za - ru - u  
gathered, set in order, and

d. illikumi(?) kakki qabal va tahaz  
marched(?) fighting battle and war

e. itti zabi  
with the men

f. id - dan sa Assur - bani - pal sar Assur ib - bu - su - u  
belonging to Assurbanipal king of Assyria, was made.

g. ul dabu sar Dan - ai - ablu \* \* \* \* \*  
Not good. From Danai son of \* \* \* \* \*

h. bil ku(?) arah Ululu immi 7 lim - mu Sa - gab  
the bilku(?) month Elul seventh day, eponym Sagab.











# PASSAGE AT CLOSE OF OMEN TABLET K, 4.











a. [Saul] - mu - gi - na ahu lakenu(?)  
[Saul]mugina the younger brother









b. i - dal - la - hu va  
\* \* \* \* \* he embroiled and











c. rab - u  
\* \* \* \* \* great













d. un - ni - i la da - a - bu  
\* \* \* \* \* not good













e.            
 \* \* \* \* ki - na      Assur - bani - pal      şar      Assur  
 \* \* \* \*      \*      \*      *Assurbanipal king of Assur,*












f.            
 şar binu-ut      qati      ka      sa      ana      sar      ka      dabu  
*the work of thy hands, who unto thee is good,*













g.            
 u - hu - qu - u      ki - di - in      sa      zi(?)      ka  
*who has established ordinances and on thy \* \* \**











h.            
 sit - ku - na      eni      su      is - mu - u      um - ma  
*has fixed his eyes, heard thus:*











i.                j.    
 Saul - mu - gi - na      ana      Elam      i - hal - lik  
*"Saulmugina to Elam broke away;*



               k.    
 a - mat      u - sa - si - tu      pan - i      ana      Elam  
*an agreement he caused to make, before to Elam*


         l.         
 i - hal - li - ki      5      libiti(?)      ina      lib      ul  
*he broke away. Five omens in heart were not*

        m.           
 dabu      Araḥ Tasritu immi      15      lim - mu      Şa - gab  
*good. Month Tisri, fifteenth day, eponym Sagab,*



n.                o.    
 Da - ri - şar      Dan - ai      bel - ku      Ili      rabati  
*Darisar      Dunai belku.      The great Gods the*




        p.         
 beli      uzzi      tam - mu - uş - şu      uzzi  
*lords strength      continue to him, their*




  
 su - nu                      sa    damiq    a - na        sar    be - eli    ya  
*strength                      for    good    to    the    king    my    lord*


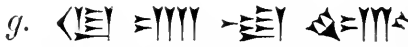
r.   
 lis - tap - pa    ru - u - ni  
*may    they    send.*

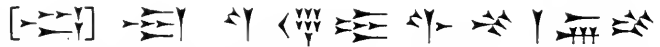

PASSAGE AT CLOSE OF OMEN TABLET K, 3161.



a.     b.   
 [immi]    17    sa arah an - ni                      arah Samna sa sanat  
*The seventeenth day of this month,    the month Marchesvan of*


    c.     d.   
 an - na    uzzus (?)                      sa    zabi    id - dan    sa  
*this year, it was                      that the men belonging    to*

    e.   
 Assur-bani-pal sar    Assur    ana eli    Saul - mu - gi - na  
*Assurbanipal king of Assyria    went over to Saulmugina;*

f.     g.   
 it - tal - ku ana qati su-nu                      ki (?) - bit (?) - tu    dabtu  
*to    their    hands                      the will (?) was good.*

h.     i.   
 [Arah] Samna inmi    17    lim - mu    Sa-gab                      \* \* \* a  
*Month Marchesvan seventeenth day, eponym Sagab                      \* \* \* a*

    j.   
 Assur - dan    \* \* \*                      \* \* \*    i    \* \* \*  
*Assurdan    \* \* \*                      \* \* \*    \* \* \**

k.   
 [ina lib Bit] - ridu - te    e - tap - su  
*[In the midst] of Bitridute made.*



— 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 14. 𐎶𐎵 — 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵  
 ina lib a-mat sa ina eli ya da-[bu] \* \* \*  
 in the will which is in me good \* \* \*

15. 𐎶𐎵 — 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 16. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵  
 sa ina lib - bi sa \* \* \* \* \* nisi  
 which in the heart \* \* \* \* \*

𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 17. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 18. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
 ut \* \* \* \* ki \* \* \* \* tam-ma - ra - ni  
 \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \*

𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 19. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵  
 mi \* \* \* \* sa ardi sa zi \* \* \* \*  
 \* \* \* \* of the servants who \* \* \* \*

20. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 21. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵  
 sa beli su-nu is - su-nu ya - ha - nu - u  
 of their lords bring(?) to me.

𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 22. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵  
 as-su ana-ku e - mu - ki ya al - tap - ra  
 Of myself, my forces I send.

23. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 24. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵  
 i - lu - su at - tu ku-nu me-nu-u dum - ki  
 I have joined with you, keeping your

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 25. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵  
 ku-nu va dābtu ku - nu i - na emur ya  
 good and your benefit in my sight.

## DATE.

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵  
 Araḥ Airu immi 5 lim - mu Bel-ḥarran-sad-u - a  
 Mouth Iyyar, fifth day, eponym Belharransadua

K, 4457.

1. [𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵] 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶  
 [Um-man]- al-da - šu aḥu su sa Tam-ma- ri - tu  
*Ummanaldasu brother of Tammaritū*

𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 [𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶] 2. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶  
 šar [Elam] Ut-te - di nisi rab [mitpanu]  
*king of [Elam]. Uttedi commander of archers,*

3. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶  
 Te - um - man nis rab mitpanu sa bit - ḥal - la - a [su]  
*and Teumman commander of the archers of [his] chariot (?).*

4. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶  
 Tam - ma- ri - tu šar Elam sa a - na kit - ri  
*Tammaritū king of Elam, who to the aid of*

𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 5. 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶  
 Saul - mu - gi - na \* \* \* il - li - ka - av - va  
*Saulmugina \* \* \* went, and*

𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 6. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶  
 a - na mit - ḥu - uz umman ya a - na - ku  
*to fight my army. I*

𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶  
 Assur-bani-pal šar Assur Assur va Istar am - ḥu - ur  
*Assurbanipal king of Assyria, Assur and Ištar invoked;*

𐎶𐎵 7. 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶  
 va is - mu - u šu - up - pi ya In - da - bi - gas  
*and they heard my prayer. Indabigas*

𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 8. 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶  
 arad šu zir - us - su ip - pal - kit va ina taḥaz  
*his servant, against him revolted, and in the battle*

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 9. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
 zin is - ku - nu abikta su nisi Tam - ma - ri - tu  
*field accomplished his overthrow. The men of Tammāritu*

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 10. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
 ultu qabal tam - ha - ri in - nab - tu - niv - va abikta umman su  
*from the midst of the battle fled and of the defeat of his army*

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵  
 ig - bu su va in - nab - ta u - ru - uḥ - ḥi tam - ti  
*told him; and he fled by the way of the sea.*

11. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵  
 arku su In - da - bi - gas arad ṣu u - sib ina kuzzu su  
*After him Indabigas his servant, sat on his throne.*

12. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵  
 Elap Tam - ma - ri - tu ṣar Elam  
*The ship of Tammāritu king of Elam,*

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 13. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵  
 aḥi su qi - ni su ziri bit abi su rubi  
*his brothers, his kin, the seed of his father's house, and the princes*

[𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵] 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵  
 [a - lik] idi su sa si - ik - nu di - ru - u ru - taq - tu  
*[going] before him, which was sinking (?) \* \* \* \* \**





𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 14. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵  
 iṣ - ba - tu \* \* \* \* \* ba - ti su - u ul - tu  
*had taken. \* \* \* \* \* he from*

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 15. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵  
 ki - rib elap su - a - tu ana ki - li Tam - ma - ri - tu  
*out of that ship, to a boat, Tammāritu*

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵  
 a - na arku su is - si ma - ru - us - tu qaq - qar  
*on his back he carried sick. The*

16.   
 u - par - ri      \* \* \*      us (?)   
*he placed him on,*

u - se - rib su ki - rib qani \* \* \* a - na bu - ri su - nu  
*he caused him to enter into the reeds. For their food*

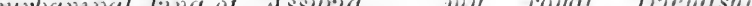
17.      
 \* \* \* \* \* sa ut \* \* \* \* \* zib \* \* \* \* \*  
 \* \* \* \* \* which \* \* \* \* \*

REVERSE.

1. 𐎶 𐎵 𐎠𐏀 𐎧𐏁𐎥 𐎲𐎠𐏃𐎶 𐎶 𐎫𐎺𐎠 𐎧𐏁𐎶 𐎤𐎢𐏁𐎶 𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶  
Tam-ma- ri - tu šar Elam sa pa - an  
*Tammaritu king of Elam, who before*

In - da - bi - gas   ip - pal   ina ki - rib mar - ra - ti  
*Indabigas*   *fell;*   *in the midst of the sea*

i - ki - il     
 pa - a     
 e - mu - ru     
 ma - ru - us - tu     
 3. a - na - ku  
*sailed(?) and had seen sickness. I*

  
 Assur - bani - pal sar      Assur    ri - he - e - ti      saru - ti    ya  
*Assurbanipal king of Assyria,      my    royal    friendship*

u - se - bil su      4. ri - ħe - e - ti sa - a - ti - na  
sent to him.      That friendship he

im - har va ina mahri ummati ya  
received, and in presence of my general

5. u - na - as - si - qa qa q - qa - ru  
*kissed the ground.*

6. Si - id - ru sa Um-man-i-gas la na - zir dabtu  
*Line [of battle] of Ummanigas, disregarder of the benefits*

7. sa Assur - bani - pal šar Assur sa ki - rib  
*of Assurbanipal king of Assyria; who in*

8. Elam is - ku - nu su a - na šaru - ti  
*Elam had appointed him to the kingdom.*

9. Tam-ma-ri - tu sa it - ti su \* \* ma \* \* is - ku - nu  
*Tammaritu who with him had fought(?) had accomplished*


10. abikta su u - par - ri - ru el - lat šu  
*his overthrow and dispersed his forces.*





11. [Ni] - kis qa qadu [sa] Um-man-i-gas šar  
*Decapitated head [of] Ummanigas king of*

12. Elam [sa] ya - a - ti \* \* \* \* \*  
*Elam, who to me \* \* \* \* \**

13. e - su u - vas - sir an - ni [a - na kit] - ri  
*\* \* abandoned me, and [to the] aid of*

[Saul] - mu - gi - na bel nakiri ya  
*[Saul] my lord of my enemies,*


14.  Tam-ma - ri - tu ik - ki - šu qabal  
*Tammaritu had cut off in the midst of*











15.      
 tam - ha - ri                      ummati                      ya  
*battle.*                                      *my*                      *general*

sa Um - man - i - gas  
*who Ummanigas*

16.  Ma - dak - tu  
*Madaktu.*

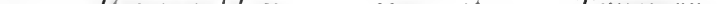
K, 2825. PARTLY RESTORED FROM FRAGMENTS OF DUPLICATE  
TABLETS.


a.  Tam-ma-ri - tu sar Elam (su - a - tu)  
*Tammaritu* king of *Elam* (that),


a - di      Um - man - al - das      Pa - ra      \*      \*      [ahi      su]

*and                      Ummanaldas,                      Para                      \*      \*      [his brothers]*

b.  Um - man - al - da - ši      ablu      Te - um - man      šar  
*Ummanaldasi*      son of      Teumman king of


  
 Elam                  Um -man- am - ni    ablu    Um -man-pi - ha

*Elam,                  Ummanamni                  son of    Ummanniha*

(v.   
 (v. Um -man- ap - pi) ablu Ur - ta - ki šar Elam  
 (v. Ummannappi) son of Urtaki king of Elam,

c.   
 Um-man-am-ni ablu abli sa      Um-man-al-da-si  
*Ummanamni*      *grandson*      *of*      *Ummanalasi*



𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 4. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 5. 𐎶𐎵  
 imni du - ub lib - bi va du - ub širi sa  
 days, sound heart, and sound body, to the

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 6. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵  
 be - eli šarri bel ya liq - bu - u a - na eli  
 lord of kings my lord grant. Concerning

7. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 8. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵  
 Tam - ti - i - ti ahi nis qi - ni sa va  
 Tamti-iti, the brothers, kinsmen, and

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 9. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 10. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵  
 rabati sa a - na šar bel ya as - pur a - du - u  
 great men, whom to the king my lord I send, thus:

𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 11. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵  
 Tam - mar - i - ti ahi sa nisi qi - na su  
 "Tammaritu, the brothers, his kinsmen and




12. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵  
 va nisi rabati su i - zu - zi  
 his great men, together


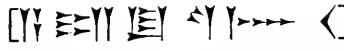

13. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 14. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵  
 a - na pa - an šar beli ya al - tap - ra - as - su - nu  
 to the presence of the king my lord I send them


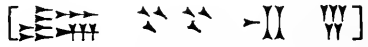
15. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵  
 \* \* \* \* \*  
 \* \* \* \* \*


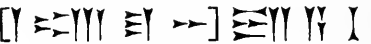
EXTRACT FROM A DISPATCH MENTIONING THE DEATH OF  
 INDABIGAS KING OF ELAM. K, 13.



1. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵  
 [A - na bel šarri beli] ya arad ka  
 [To the lord of kings] my [lord,] thy servant

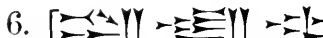

 2.    
 Bel - ib - ni [Assur Samas va Maruduk] du - bi  
*Belibni. [From Assur, Shamas and Merodach,] sound*




 3.    
 lib - bi du - bi şiri [a - ra - ku immi va] la - bar  
*heart and sound body; [length of days, and] long*



 4.   
 pal - e ana bel şarri [şar matati bel ya]  
*life; to the lord of kings [king of the earth my lord.]*




 5.   
 de - e - mu sa Elam [Um - ma - ḫal] - da - a - su  
*The news from Elam, Ummanaldas;*



   
 şar mah - ru - u sa ih - li - qa  
*the former king has destroyed,*


 6.   
 [il - li - ka] - av - va ina kuzzu u - si - i - bu  
*he has gone and on the throne has sat.*


 7.    
 [ip - tal] - la - ḫu Ma - dak - ti un - dis - sar  
*They feared (?) Madaktu he has left,*

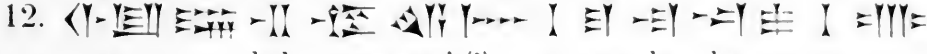
 8.   
 ummu su alat şu mari su va nis qi - na - as - su  
*his mother, his wife, his children and his kinsmen*

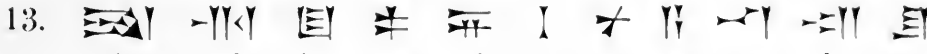
 9.    
 gab - bi ki - i ik - mi - şu U - la - ai - a - na  
*all; then he subdued. The Ulai in its*


 10.   
 su - pal sa a - ru i - te - bir a - na  
*depth a flood, he crossed, to*

  
 Ta - la - aḥ it - tal - ka niru  
*Talah he went. The chief*


11.   
 Um-man-si-bar Un-da-du zi-il-li-ru  
*Ummansibar, Undadu the zilliru,*

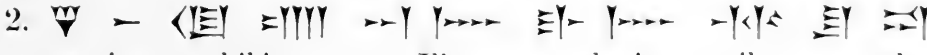
12.   
 va bel ummani (?) su ma-la ba-as-su-u  
*and the lords of his forces all there were;*


13.   
 it - tal - ku pa - ni su - nu a - na alu su  
*went before them, to his city*


  
 Ḥa-ri-šu-un-ṣi  
*Harisundasi.*

EPIGRAPH OVER KING IN CHARIOT RECEIVING PRISONERS AND SPOIL.  
 Line 7 from Duplicate on Tablet Fragment.

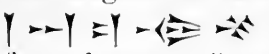
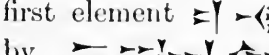
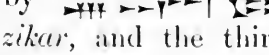
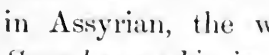
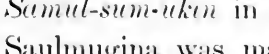
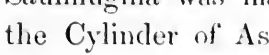
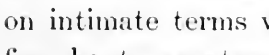
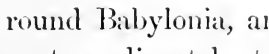
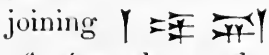
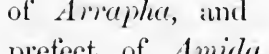
1.   
 A-na-ku Assur-bani-pal ṣar kīssat ṣar Assur  
*I am Assurbanipal king of nations king of Assyria,*

2.   
 sa ina kībit Ili rabati ik-su-du  
*who by the will of the great Gods has taken the*

3.   
 zu-un-mi-rat lib-bi su lu-bul-tu su-qut-tu  
*desire of his heart; garments beautiful,*

4.   
 ṣi-mat ṣar-u-ti sa Saul - mu-gi-na  
*the royal robes of Saulmugina*









instigated all the tributary states to revolt against Assurbanipal. Saulmugina is the Saosduchinus of Ptolemy, his name is written  and . The first element  is rendered in *Cun. Ins.* Vol. II, p. 45, line 49, by  *Sa-mul-lu*, the second element  is *sum* or *zikar*, and the third  or  *gina* in Akkad, is *ukin* in Assyrian, the whole name was probably *Samul-zikar-ukin*, or *Samul-sum-ukin* in Assyrian. Probably, by the will of Esarhaddon, Saulmugina was made king of Babylon at his death. K, 3050, and the Cylinder of Assurbanipal in the Louvre exhibit Saulmugina as on intimate terms with Assurbanipal, and this state of affairs lasted for about seventeen years. During the eponymy of Assurduruzur, Saulmugina planned a revolt against his brother, which Assurbanipal represents as very ungrateful. The inscriptions seem to show that Assurbanipal only allowed his brother a nominal sovereignty round Babylon, and Saulmugina desiring to be independent, sent messengers to the various subject rulers to persuade them to join him in throwing off the Assyrian yoke. The most important tributary was Ummanigas of Elam, and to insure his aid, Saulmugina opened the treasuries of the temple of Bel at Babylon, the temple of Nebo at Borsippa, and the temple of Nergal at Kutha, and sent their treasures as a present to the Elamite monarch (K, 2631). Ummanigas received the bribe, and sent his troops to Babylonia. Other messengers were sent by Saulmugina to the various rulers round Babylonia, and  *Kudur* governor of Uruk (Warka) sent a dispatch to Assurbanipal (K, 5457), telling him that he had heard from Sintabniuzur, governor of Ur, of the arrival of the messenger of Saulmugina at that city, and that part of the people had revolted. Kudur then took 500 men from Uruk, and joining  *Pulia*, prefect of *Arrapha*, and  *Zubea*, prefect of *Amida*, went down to Ur; but he could not stop the revolt, and Sintabniuzur himself went over to Saulmugina. Meanwhile the Babylonian king sent an embassy to Assyria to assure Assurbanipal of his devotion; on the return of this embassy, the general revolt broke out, and is said to have included Ummanigas of Elam, and his feudatory chiefs, Saulmugina of Babylon, the G.



of Elam did not join the revolt, and Kudur, governor of Uruk, held that important city for Assurbanipal. In the eponymy of Sagab, reinforcements were sent into Babylonia, and next year, in the eponymy of Bilharransadua, Belibni was appointed governor in south Babylonia.\*

The Assyrian forces having defeated the confederate army of Babylonians, Elamites, and Arabians, shut them up in the four cities of Babylon,† Borsippa, Kutha, and Sipara; here they were besieged, until in the extremity of famine, the people eat their own children. After a vain attempt at a sortie, Babylon fell, and Saulhugina was burned.‡ After the capture of Babylon, the country was annexed to Assyria, and an Assyrian general named Samaslainani was made governor of Babylon and the surrounding district. Nebobelzikri,§ the Chaldean who had joined the revolt, had taken captive the Assyrian garrison which guarded his country, and when the revolt failed, he made his escape into Elam, carrying with him the Assyrians as prisoners. Indabigas, king of Elam, sent to Assurbanipal, desiring to make peace, but the Assyrian monarch sent back word demanding the surrender of Nebobelzikri and the Assyrians who were in Elam, and threatened to invade Elam if they were refused. Assurbanipal afterwards dispatched an envoy to Elam on this errand, and on reaching the frontier the Assyrian messenger heard that Indabigas had been killed, and succeeded by Ummanaldas; a long diplomatic correspondence ensued between Assurbanipal and Ummanaldas respecting Nebobelzikri, who ultimately committed suicide in company with his armour bearer (see

\* The name of Belibni consists of two parts, the first the deity Bel is written ,  and  (this is the only proper name in which I have found these forms interchange); the second ipni "he made," is written ,  and .

† This is the first time in history that we know Babylon to have been besieged. At least six times previously the Assyrians had taken it without siege, and it is probable that the great extent of the city had prevented its being enclosed by a wall until the time of Esarhaddon, who fortified it about thirty years before Saulhugina's revolt.

‡ We have no details of the death of Saulhugina, so that it is uncertain under what circumstances he was burned, it is possible that he set fire to his palace on the taking of Babylon; self-destruction, under such circumstances, was common in ancient times.

§ Nebobelzikri is called in some copies the son, and in others the grandson of Merodach Baladan, the latter is the more correct relationship. He was probably the son of Nahidmaruduk, a younger son of Merodach Baladan, who was king of Chaldee in the time of Esarhaddon.

Part XI). Several of the facts connected with this period are indicated on omen tablets, many of these tablets embodying the judgment of the astrologers were written at the order of Assurbanipal, that he might know if the omens were favourable for the prosecution of the war against Saulmugina and his allies. At the close of these omen tablets, the circumstances in the revolt which called for the inquiries are specified, together with the dates and the statements whether the omens were favourable or not. There are many other fragments beside those translated here, and the dates extend from the eponymy of Assurduruzur to that of Bilharransadua, a period of about two years.

The following are some of the tablets referring to this part of the history, which are not translated here, K, 4796 ; K, 1210 ; K, 974 ; K, 824 ; K, 1580 ; K, 1095 ; K, 1541 ; K, 4275 ; K, 1196 ; K, 1030 ; K, 5456 ; K, 1249 ; K, 5457 ; K, 1610 ; K, 524 ; No. 67, 4—2, 1 ; K, 95 ; K, 84.

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## PART X.

*The First War with Ummannaldas, King of Elam.*

## TEXTS.

There are two good texts of this war, Cylinder A, col. v, lines 44 to 117, and an Extract from K, 2656. Beside these there is the imperfect text on K, 2833, and K, 3085, not translated here.

## CYLINDER A, COLUMN V, LINES 44 TO 117.

44. I - na šibe- e gar - ri ya ina arah Sivanu arah  
*In my seventh expedition, in the month Sivan the month of*

Sin bel uzzi ablu ris - tu va a - sa - ri - du sa  
*Sin lord of might, eldest son and first of*

Bel ad - ki umman ya zir Um - man - al - das  
*Bel: I gathered my army, against Ummannaldas*

šar Elam us - te - es - se - ra mur - ra - nu  
*king of Elam I directed the march.*

u - bil it - ti ya Tam - ma - ri - tu šar Elam  
*I brought with me Tammari - tu king of Elam,*

48. 𐎶 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 | 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 | 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶  
 sa la pa - an In - da - bi - gas ardu su in - nab - tu va  
*who from the face of Indabigas his servant had fled, and*

49. 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 (v. 𐎶𐎶𐎶) 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶  
 iz - ba - ta (v. tu) niri ya nisi 𐎶𐎶 - il - mi  
*taken my yoke. The people of Hilmi,*

𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 50. 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 (𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶) 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶  
 Bil - la - ti Du - (um) - mu - qu  
*Billati, Dummuqu,*

𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶  
 𐎶𐎶 - la - ai La - 𐎶𐎶 - ra Di - bi - ri - i - na  
*Sulai, Lahira and Dibirina,*

51. 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶  
 ti - ib taḥaz ya dan - ni is - mu - u sa al - la - ku  
*the force of my fierce attack, heard of, as I went*

𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 52. 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶  
 a - na Elam nam - ri - ri Assur va Istar  
*to Elam. The terror of Assur and Ishtar*

𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 (v. 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶) 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶  
 beli ya pu - luḥ - ti (v. tu) 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 - ti ya  
*my lords, and the fear of my kingdom*

53. 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 (v. 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶) | 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶  
 iṣ - ḥu - up (v. ḥup) su - nu - ti su - nu nisi su - nu  
*overwhelmed them. They, their people,*

𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 | 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 (v. 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶) | 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶  
 alpi su - nu ze - e - ni (v. 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶) su - nu  
*their oxen and their sheep,*

54. 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶  
 a - na e - pis ardu - ti ya a - na Assur  
*to do my service to Assyria*

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 (v. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵) 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 55. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵  
im - qut - (v. qu - tu) - niv - va iz - ba - tu niru  
they struck, and took the yoke of

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵  
šaru - ti ya Bit - im - bi - i maḥ - ru - u  
my kingdom, Bitimbi the former

56. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵  
alu šar - u - ti bit duk - la - a - ti sa Elam  
royal city, the fortress of Elam;

57. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵  
sa ki - ma dur - e pa - ti Elam par - ku  
which like a wall the boundary of Elam divided,

58. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵  
sa Sin - aḥi ir - ba šar Assur abu abi  
which Sennacherib king of Assyria, the grandfather

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 59. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵  
bani ya il - la - mu - u - a ik - su - du va su - u  
my beyetter, my predecessor, had captured: and he the

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 60. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵  
E - la - mu - u alu me - eḥ - rit  
Elamite, a city in front of the

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 61. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵  
Bit - im - bi - i maḥ - re - e sa - nam - ma  
former Bitimbi, another

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 (𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵) 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵  
e - bu - (us) - su va dur su u - dan - nin - u va  
had built, and its wall he had strengthened, and

62. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵  
u - zak - ki - ru šal - ḥu - u su Bit - im - bi - i  
had raised its outer wall Bitimbi





78. I =II =III (v. =A) =I □ < II ▽  
 sada su e - li Um (v. Am) - ba - gu - u - a sa  
*his mountains ascended. Um (v. Am) - bagua who*

<I =II =III <I =II =III =III =II =I < 79. II =I  
 ul - tu Elam ultu ši - hu - u a - na  
*from Elam, from a revolt, to*

=II =I =II =III =III =II =I =II =III =III  
 Bu - bi - lu in - nab - tu va me - eh - rit  
*Bubilu had fled, and against*

I =III << =II =III 80. =III <I =I (v. =I =I) =  
 Um-man- al - das u - si - bu (v. as - bu) ina  
*Ummanaldas had sat on the*

=I =II =I <I =II =II =II =II =II =II =II =I =I  
 kuzzu Elam ki - ma sa - a - su va is - mi va  
*throne of Elam: like him also heard, and*

81. =II =I =II =I =II =I =II =I =II =I =I =I =I =I =I  
 Bu - bi - lu alu mu - sab bilu - ti su u - vas - sir  
*Bubilu the city the seat of his dominion he abandoned,*

=I 82. =II =II =II =I =I =I =I =I =I =I =I =I =I =I =I  
 va ki - ma nuni iz - bat su - pul me ru - qu - u - ti  
*and like the fishes took to the depths of the remote waters.*

83. I =I =I =I =I =I =I =I =I =I =I =I =I =I =I  
 Tam - ma - ri - tu sa in - nab - ta iz - ba - ta  
*Tammaritu who fled and took*

=II =II 84. =II =II =II =I =I =I =I =I =I =I =I =I =I =I =I  
 niri ya ki - rib Su - sa - an u - se - rib  
*my yoke, into Shushan I caused to enter,*

=I =I =I =I =I =I =I =I =I =I =I =I =I =I =I 85. =I <I =I  
 as - kun su a - na šaru - ti damqati  
*I appointed him to the kingdom The good*

e - pu - su - us    as - pu - ru    it - taḥ - ṣu    im - si va  
*I had done to him and sent to his aid, he rejected and*

86. is - te - ni - ha - a    limut - tu a - na    ka - sad  
*devised                      evil                      to                      capture*

umman ya    ki - a - am    ig - bi    it - ti    lib - bi su  
*my army.                      Even he said in his heart*

um - ma    nisi    Elam    a - na    salat - e  
*thus: "The people of Elam                      for a spoil*

i - tu - ru ina pan (v. pa - an)    Assur    ma - nu su - nu  
*have turned, in the face of Assyria.                      Their \* \* \**

va    ir - ru - bu - u    \* \* \*    iḥ - ta - nab - ba - tu  
*has been entered(?) and they have carried away*

hu - bu - tu    Elam    Assur va Istar    sa ida ai  
*the plunder of Elam."                      Assur and Ishtar who before me*

(v. ina maḥ - ri ya)    il - li - ku    u - sa - zi - zu  
*(v. in my presence)                      march,                      and exalt*

in - ni    zi - ir    ga - ri ya    lib - bi  
*me                      over                      my                      enemies;                      the heart of*

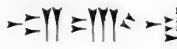
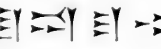

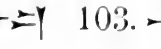

Tam - ma - ri - tu    iq - zu    ba - ra - nu - u    ip - ru - u va  
*Tammaritu                      hard                      and                      perverse they broke, and*

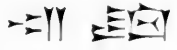

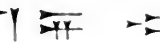



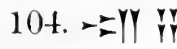


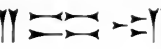



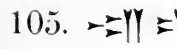



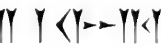

 102. 

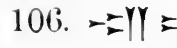

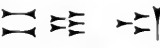

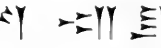
  
 u - tir - ra a - na                      Assur                      Ga - tu - du  
*I restored to Assyria.                      Gutudu,*

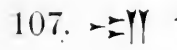

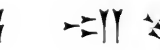
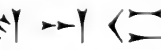




 103. 

  
 Ga - tu - du - ma                      Da - e - ba                      Na - di - ha  
*Gutuduma,                      Daeba,                      Nadiha,*

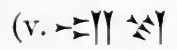
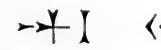

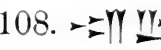





  
 Dur - am - na - ni                      Dur - am - na - ni - ma  
*Duramnani,                      Duramnanimi,*


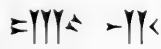

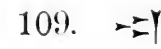




 104. 

  
 Ha - ma - nu                      Ta - ra - qu                      Ha - ai - u - si  
*Hamanu,                      Taraqu,                      Haiusi,*




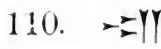




 105. 

  
 Bit - tag - gil - bit - su                      Bit - ar - ra - bi  
*Bittaggilbitsu,                      Bitarrabi,*














 106. 

  
 Bit - im - bi - i                      Ma - dak - tu                      Su - sa - an  
*Bitimbi,                      Madaktu,                      Shushan,*














 107. 

  
 Bu - be - e                      Te - maruduk - sar - an - ni  
*Bube,                      Temaruduksarami,*














 108. 

  
 (v. Te - maruduk - sar - a - ni)                      Ur - da - li - ka  
*Urdalika,*














 109. 

  
 Al - ga - ri - ga                      Tu - u - bu  
*Algariğa,                      Tubu,*














 110. 

  
 Tul - tu - u - bu                      Du - un - sar  
*Tultubu,                      Dunsar,*





















  
 Dur - un - da - ši                      Dur - un - da - ši - ma  
*Durundasi,*                                      *Durundasima,*











111. 









  
 Bu - bi - lu                      Şa - am - u - nu                      Bu - na - ki  
*Bubilu,*                                      *Samunu,*                                      *Bunaki,*











112. 









  
 Qa - ab - ri - na                      Qa - ab - ri - na - ma  
*Qabrina,*                                      *Qabrinama*














 113. 






  
 Ha - ra - ha                      alani                      su - nu - ti                      ak - su - ud  
*and Haraba,*                                      *their cities, I captured,*








 114. 






  
 ab - bul aq - qur                      ina                      isati                      ak - mu                      Ili                      su - nu  
*pulled down, destroyed,                      in the fire I burned; their Gods,*




 115. 






  
 nisi                      su - nu                      alpi                      su - nu                      ze - e - ni  
*their people,                                      their oxen,                                      their*


(v. 









  
 (v. zeni)                      su - nu                      sa - su                      su - nu                      sa - ga                      su - nu  
*sheep,                                      their furniture,                      their goods,*


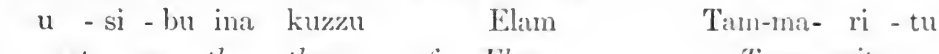
116. 









  
 zu - um - bi                      susi                      pare  
*carriages,                                      horses,                                      mules,*


117. 









  
 bat - li                      u - nu - tu                      ta - ha - zi                      as - lu - la  
*and weapons, instruments of war, I carried off*


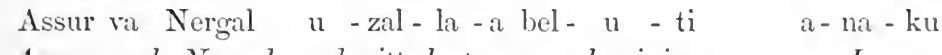




  
 a - na                      Assur  
*to                      Assyria.*


K, 2656. RESTORED FROM FRAGMENTS OF DUPLICATES.


a.   
Um-man- al - da - ši ablu At - ta - mi - tu  
*Ummanaldas son of Attamitu,*


 b.   
u - si - bu ina kuzzu Elam Tam-ma- ri - tu  
*sat on the throne of Elam. Tammaritu*


  
as-su de - c - ni su va a-lak it - taḥ su ina ki - bit  
*for his sentence, and for going to his aid; by command of*

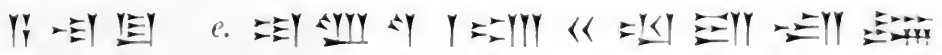
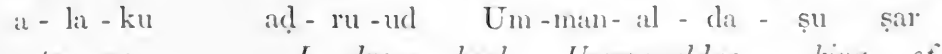
 c.   
Assur va Nergal u - zal - la - a bel - u - ti a-na - ku  
*Assur and Nergal, submitted to my dominion. I am*

  
Assur-bani-pal lib - bu rap - su la - ka - zir ik - ki - mu  
*Assurbanipal of generous heart, of defection the remover.*

  
ina tugul- ti Assur va Nergal Ili ti - ik - li ya  
*In the service of Assur and Nergal the Gods my protectors*

d.   
sa - ni - a - nu ad - ki umman ya zi - ir  
*a second time I gathered my army; against*

  
Um-man- al - da - ši ṣar E - lam - ti ag - ba - a  
*Ummanaldas king of Elam, I commanded*

 e.   
a - la - ku ad - ru - ud Um-man- al - da - ṣu ṣar  
*to go. I drove back Ummanaldas king of*

𐎶 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
 Elam la pa - an kakki ya in - na - bit  
*Elam; from the face of my soldiers he fled*

𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
 va sa - da - a su - e - li Tam-ma - ri - tu sa  
*and his mountain ascended. Tammarithu who*

𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
 in - nab - ta iz - ba - ta niri ya ki - rib  
*fled and took my yoke, in*

𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
 Su - sa - an as - kun su a - na šar - u - ti  
*Shushan I appointed him to the kingdom.*

g. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
 damqatu e - pu - su - us sa as - pu - ru it - taḥ - šu  
*The benefits I had done to him and had sent to his aid, he*

𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
 in - si va is - te - ni - ha - a limut - tu a - na ka - sad  
*despised and devised evil, to capture*

𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
 ummani ya Assur šar Ili Nergal be - lu  
*my army. Assur king of the Gods and Nergal the lord*

𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
 zi - i - ru sa ina maḥ - ri ya il - la - ku  
*mighty, who in my presence march*

𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
 u - sa - zi - zu in - ni zi - ir ga - ri ya  
*and exalt me over my enemies,*

i. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
 lib - bi Tam-ma - ri - tu iq - šu ba - ra - nu ip - ru  
*the heart of Tammarithu hard and perverse they broke,*

va im - nu - u su qa - tu - u a ul - tu  
*and delivered him into my hand. From*

kuzzu šaru - ti su id - ku - nis - suv - va  
*his royal throne they hurled him and*

u - tir - ni - suv - va u - sak - ni - su - us a - na  
*overturned him, and subdued him to*

niri ya sal - si - a - nu Assur bel - zi - i - ru Nergal  
*my yoke. A third time Assur the mighty lord, Nergal*

qar - rad Ili I - tak sa qati su az - ma  
*warrior of the Gods, and Itak whose hands are powerful.*

u - tak - ki - lu - ni va a - na Elam ig - bu - ni  
*protected me, and to Elam they commanded*

a - la - ku Bit - im - bi - i, &c.  
*to go. Bitimbi, &c.*

Here follows the second war with Ummanaldas, the same as Cylinder A, col. v, line 121 and following.

The first war with Ummanaldas appears to have had for its object the restoration of Tammарitu, the fugitive king of Elam. The principal event of the campaign was the capture of Bit-imbi; after which, Ummanaldas abandoned his capital, and fled to the mountains. Tammарitu, who was then restored to the throne, soon revolted, and was deposed by Assurbanipal; the country coming once more under the sway of Ummanaldas.


## PART XI.


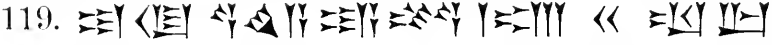
*The Second War with Ummanaldas.*


## TEXTS.

The texts of the second war with Ummanaldas are Cylinder A, col. v, line 118 to col. vii, line 96; two Epigraphs; several Extracts from Historical Tablets; and K, 3062.

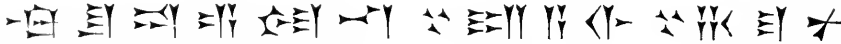
## CYLINDER A, COLUMN V, LINES 118 TO 125.

118.  I - na samne gar - ri ya ina ki - bit Assur va  
*In my eighth expedition, by command of Assur and*

 119.  Istar ad - ki umman ya zir Um -man- al - das  
*Ishtar, I gathered my army, against Ummanaldas*

120.  gar Elam us - te - es - se - ra mur - ra - nu  
*king of Elam I directed the march.*

121.  Bit - im - bi - i sa ina gar - ri ya mah - re - e  
*Bitimbi, which in my former expedition*

122.  ak - su - du e - nin - na Ra - a - si Ha - ma - nu  
*I had captured, again Rasi, Hamanu,*

123. 𐎶 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶 𐎠𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎠𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎠  
 a - di na - gi su ak - su - ud va su - u  
*and that district I captured; and he*

𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 124. 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶  
 Um - man - al - das šar Elam ka - sad  
*Ummanablu king of Elam, of the capture of*

𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎠𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 125. 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶  
 Ra - a - si Ha - ma - nu is - mi va pu - luḥ - ti  
*Rasi and Hamanu heard, and fear of*

𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎠𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶  
 Assur va Istar a - li - kut ida - ai  
*Assur and Ishtar going before me*

## COLUMN VI.

1. 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶  
 iṣ - ḥu - pu su va Ma - dak - tu alu šaru - ti su  
*overwhelmed him, and Madaktu his royal city*

2. 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶  
 u - vas - sir va in - na - bit a - na  
*he abandoned, and fled to*

𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 3. 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶  
 Dur - un - da - si It - it - e e - bir  
*Durundasi. The Itite, he crossed,*

𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 4. 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶  
 va nahr su - a - tu a - na dan - nu - ti su is - kun  
*and that river for his stronghold he fixed,*

5. 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 (v. 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶) 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶  
 uk - ta - ta - zir uk - taz - zir a - na zal - ti ya  
*and arranged in ranks to fight me.*

6. Na - di - tu alu şaru - ti va (v. a - di) na - gi  
*Naditu the royal city and its district*

I su ak - su - ud 7. Bit - bu - na - ki alu şaru - ti \* \*  
*I captured, Bitbunaki the royal city ditto,*

8. Har - dap - a - nu alu şaru ti \* \* 9. Tu - u - bu  
*Hardapunu the royal city ditto, Tubu*

alu şaru - ti \* \* 10. bi - rit nahr ka - la - mu  
*the royal city ditto, beside all the river,*

Ma - dak - tu alu şaru - ti \* \* 11. Hal - te - ma - as  
*Mudaktu the royal city ditto, Haltemas*

alu şaru - ti su ak - su - ud 12. Su - sa - an  
*his royal city I captured, Shushan*

alu şaru - ti su ak - su - ud 13. Di - in - şar  
*his royal city I captured, Dinsar,*

Şu - mu - un - tu - na - as \* \* 14. Pi - di - il - ma  
*Sumuntunas ditto, Pidilma*

alu şaru - ti su 15. Bu - bi - lu \* \*  
*his royal city, Bubilu ditto,*

15. Ka - bi - in - ak (alu şaru - ti su) \* \*  
*Kabinak (his royal city) ditto.*

16. ina tugul- ti Assur va Istar ar - di va al - lik  
*In the service of Assur and Ishtar I marched and went*
17. zir Um -man- al - da - ši šar Elam  
*after Ummanaldas king of Elam,*
18. sa la ik -nu-sa a - na niri ya ina mi- ti - iq  
*who did not submit to my yoke. In the course*
- gar - ri ya 19. Dur - un - da (-a) - ši  
*of my expedition, Durundasi*
- alu šaru - ti su ak - su - ud 20. umman ya  
*his royal city I captured. My army*
- It - it - e a - gu - u u - ru 21. e - mu - ru  
*the Itite in high flood saw, and*
- ip - la - hu a - na ni - ba - ar - ti 22. Istar  
*feared the crossing. Ishtar*
- a - si -bat Arba- il ina sat mu - si a - na umman ya  
*dwelling in Arbela, in the middle of the night to my army*
23. suttu u - sap - ri va ki - a - am ig - bi su - nu  
*a dream sent, and even told them,*
24. um -na a - na - ku al - lak ina nua- ḥar Assur -bani-pal šar  
*thus: "I march in front of Assurbanipal, the king*



𐎶 𐎠𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 34. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
 Elam me - ra - nu - us - su in - na - bit va  
 Elam in his bitterness fled, and

𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 35. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵  
 iz - ba - ta sadu - u Ba - nu - nu a - di  
 took to the mountain. Bananu and

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 36. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵  
 na - ge - e sa Ta - șa - ra ka - la - mu  
 the districts of Tasara all,

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 37. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵  
 20 alani ina na - ge - e sa Hu - un - nir  
 twenty cities in the districts of Humir,

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 (v. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵) 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 (v. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵)  
 ina eli mi (v. me) - iș - ri sa Hi - da - li (v. lu)  
 by the boundary of Hidalu,

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 38. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵  
 ak - su - ud Ba - lim - mu va alani sa  
 I captured. Balimnu and the cities

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 39. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵  
 li - mi - ti - su ab - bul aq - qur sa nisi  
 round it, I pulled down and destroyed. Of the people

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 40. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵  
 a - sib lib - bi su - nu ka - mar su - nu as - kun  
 dwelling within them, their misfortune I caused,

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 41. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵  
 u - sab - bir Ili su - un u - sap - si ih  
 I broke up their Gods, I set at liberty the

(𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵) 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 42. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵  
 (Ilu) ka - bat - ti bel beli Ili su  
 great Goddess of the lord of lords, his Gods,

Istar su sa - su su sa - ga su nisi zihruti va rabati  
*his Goddesses, his furniture, his goods, people small and great,*

43. as - lu - la a - na Assur 60 kas - pu qaq - qa - ru  
*I carried off to Assyria. Sixty kaspu of ground,*

44. ina a - mat Assur va Istar sa u - ma - hi - ru in - ni  
*by the will of Assur and Ishtar who sent me,*

45. ki - rib Elam e - ru - ub va at - tal - lak sal - dis  
*within Elam I entered and marched victoriously.*

46. ina ta - ay - ar - ti ya sa Assur va Istar  
*On my return, when Assur and Ishtar*

u - sa - zi - zu in - ni zir ga - ri ya  
*exalted me over my enemies,*

Su - sa - an ma - ha - zu rab - u mu - sab  
*Shushan the great city, the seat of*

Ili su - un a - sar pi - sak - ti su - un ak - su - ud  
*their Gods, the place of their oracle, I captured.*

(v. aksud) 49. ina a - mat Assur va Istar ki - rib  
*By the will of Assur and Ishtar, into*

e - kal - i su e - ru - ub u - sib ina hidati  
*its palaces I entered and sat with rejoicing.*

𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 (v. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵) 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 51. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵  
 ap - te - e va bit na (v. nak) - kam - a - ti su - nu sa  
*I opened also their treasure houses, of*

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 (𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵) 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 (𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵) 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 (𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵) 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 (𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵)  
 kasap (-i) huraz (-i) sa - su (-i) sa - ga (-i)  
*silver, gold, furniture and goods,*

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 52. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵  
 nu - uk - ku - mu ki - rib su - un sa ṣarri  
*treasured within them; which the kings of*

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 53. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵  
 Elam maḥ - ru - ti a - di ṣarri sa  
*Elam the former, and the kings who*

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 54. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵  
 a - di lib - bi im - mi an - ne - e u - paḥ - ḥi - ru  
*were to these days, had gathered*

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 55. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵  
 is - ku - nu sa nakiru sa - nam - ma e - li  
*and made; which any other enemy beside*

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 (v. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵) 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵  
 ya - a - si (v. ai - si) qat ṣu la u - bi - lu ina lib - bi  
*me, his hands had not put into them,*

56. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 57. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵  
 u - se - za - av - va sal - la - tis am - nu kasap (-i)  
*I brought out and as spoil I counted. Silver,*

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 (𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵) 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 (𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵) 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵  
 huraz (-i) sa - su (-i) sa - ga (-i) sa Sumiri  
*gold, furniture and goods, of Sumir*

(𐎶𐎵) 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 58. 𐎶𐎵  
 (va) Akkadi va Gan - dun - i - as ka - la - mu  
 (and) Akkad and Gandunias, all that

sa şarri 59. Elam maḥ - ru - ti a - di  
*the kings of Elam, the former and*

[arku] - su is - lu - lu 60. u - bi - lu ki - rib  
*[latter,] had carried off and brought within*

Elam za - ri - ru russu - u 61. es - ma - ru - u  
*Elam; bronze hammered, hard(?), and*

ib - bu ni - sik - ti abni su - qut - tu a - gar - tu  
*pure, precious stones beautiful and valuable,*

62. ši - mat şaru - ti sa şarri Akkad  
*belonging to royalty; which kings of Akkad*

maḥ - ru - u - ti 63. va Saul - mu - gi - na  
*former ones and Saulmugina,*

a - na kit - ri su - nu ip - su - ru 64. a - na Elam  
*for their aid had paid to Elam:*


lu - bul - tu su - qut - tu ši - mat şaru - ti 65. bat - li  
*garments beautiful, belonging to royalty, weapons*

qa - ra - bi ši - ma - nu - u nin e - pis taḥaz 66. ši - mat  
*of war, prepared for one to make battle, suited*

qati su u - nu - ti mut - tab - bil - tu e - kal - i su  
*to his hand, instruments furnishing his palaces,*

67.   
 ka - la - mu su ina eli u - si - bu it - ti bibbu(?)   
*all that within it was placed, with the food*

68. 𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶  
 ina lib-bi e-ku-lu is-tu-u ir-mu-ku ip-pa-as-su  
*in the midst [which] he ate and drank, and the couch he reclined on,*

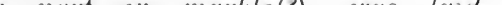

69.    
 ruqubi      iz    sa      sa - da - di      zu - um - bi   
 *powerful*                                      *war*                                      *chariots,*

70. 
  
 sa ah - zu si - na za- ri - ri za - ha - lu - u
   
*of which their ornaments were bronze and paint,*

71. सुसि पारे राबति 72. सा  
susi pare rabati sa  
*horses and great mules, of which*

tal - lap - ta su-nu hūraz kasap as - lu - la a - na  
*their trappings were gold and silver, I carried off to*

Assur                  zik - kur - rat                  Su - sa - an    sa ina  
*Assyria.*                  *The tower of Shushan, which in the*


 74.   
 a - hi - ri      uk - ni      su - pu - lat      ub - bit  
*lower part in marble(?) was laid,      I destroyed.*

u - kip - pi - ra gar - rim (v. garrim) sa sa pi - tiq  
*I broke through its top, which was covered with*

75.     

Susinaq(?)      Ilu   pi - sak - ti  
*Susinaq(?) the God of their oracle,*

I 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 76. 𐎶 𐎶  
 su - un sa as - bu ina bu - uz - ra - a - ti sa  
*who dwelt in the groves; whom*

𐎶 (𐎶)  
 man - ma - an la im - ma - ru ip - sit ilu - ti su - (ni)  
*any one had not seen the image of his divinity,*

77. 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶  
 Su - mu - du La - ga - ma - ru  
*Sumudu, Lagomer,*

𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 78. 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶  
 Pa - ar - ti - ki - ra Am - man - ka - ši - bar  
*Partikira, Ammankasibar,*

𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 79. 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶  
 U - du - ra - an Ša - pa - ak sa šarri  
*Uduran and Sapak; of whom the kings*

𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 (v. 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶) 𐎶 𐎶  
 Elam ip - tal (v. ta - na) - la - hu  
*of Elam worship*

𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 80. 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶  
 Ilu - uš - su - un Ra - gi - ba  
*their divinity. Ragiba,*

𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶  
 Šu - un - gur - ša - ra - a Ka - ar - ša  
*Sumugursara, Karsa,*

81. 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶  
 Ki - ir - ša - ma - aš Su - du - nu  
*Kirsamas, Sudunu,*

𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 82. 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶  
 Ai - pa - ak - ši - na Bi - la - la  
*Aipaksina, Bilala,*

Pa - ni in - tim - ri      Şi - la - ga - ra - a  
*Panintimri,                      Silagara,*

83. Na - ap - şa - a      Na - bir - tu  
*Napsa,                      Nabirtu and*

Ki - in - da - kar - bu      84. Ili      Istarī  
*Kindakarbu,                      these Gods and*

sa - a - tu - nu it - ti su - qut - ti su - nu      85. sa - ga su - nu  
*Goddesses, with their valuables,      their goods,*

u - na - ti su - nu a - di      sa - an - ge - e  
*their furniture, and      priests, and*

86. bu - uḥ - la - le - e as - lu - la a - na  
*worshippers, I carried off to*

Assur      32      zalam      (- i)      şarri  
*Assyria.      Thirty-two      statues of      kings,*

pi - tiq (v. ti - iq) kasap ḫuraḫ eru      88.   
*fashioned of silver, gold, bronze and*

şamul - rab ul - tu ki - rib      Su - sa - an  
*alabaster, from out of      Shushan,*

89. Ma - dak - tu      Hu - ra - di      90. a - di  
*Madaktu and      Huradi,      and*

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵  
 zalam Um -man- i -gas ablu Um -ba - da - ra -a  
*a statue of Ummanigas son of Umbadara,*

91. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵  
 zalam Is -tar- na -an - hu - un - di zalam  
*a statue of Istarnanhundi, a statue of*

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 92. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵  
 Hal- lu - ši zalam Tam-ma- ri - tu arku - u  
*Halludus and a statue of Tammaritu the later,*

93. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵  
 sa ina ki - bit Assur va Istar e - pu -su ardu-u - ti  
*who by command of Assur and Ishtar made submission to me,*

94. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵  
 al - qa - a a - na Assur ad - ka - a sedi  
*I brought to Assyria. I broke the winged lions*

95. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵  
 alapi maṣartu su - par e - sir ma - la  
*and bulls watching over the temple, all*

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 96. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵  
 ba - su - u u - na - aš - ši - ha remi  
*there were. I removed the winged*

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 97. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵  
 na - at - ru - ti ši - mat babani es - re - e - ti  
*bulls attached to the gates of the temples of*

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵  
 Elam a - di la ba - se - e u - sal - pit  
*Elam, until they were not, I overturned.*

98. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵  
 Ili su Istari su am - na - a a - na za - ki - ki  
*His Gods and his Goddesses I sent into captivity,*

99. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 100. 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶  
 kisti su-nu pa - az - ra - a - ti sa nin  
*their forest groves, which any*

𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 101. 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶  
 a - hu - u la u - šar - ru ina lib - bi la  
*other had not penetrated into the midst, had not*

𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 (v. 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶)  
 i - kib - ba - šu i - ta sun (v. si - in)  
*trodden their outskirts;*

102. 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶  
 zabi taḥaz ya ki - rib sun e - ru - bu  
*my men of war into them entered,*

103. 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶  
 e - mu - ru bu - uz - ra sun ik - mu - u ina isatu  
*saw their groves, and burned [them] in the fire.*

104. 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶  
 asar zirati šarri su-nu maḥ - ru - ti arku - i  
*The high places of their kings, former and latter,*

(v. 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶) 105. 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶  
 (v. ar - ku - i) la pa - li - hu - ti Assur va  
*not fearing Assur and*

𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 106. 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 (v. 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶) 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶  
 Istar beli ya mu - nir (v. nir) - ri - du  
*Ishtar my lords, opposers of the*

𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 107. 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶  
 šarri abi ya ab - bul aq - qur u - kal - li  
*kings my fathers, I pulled down, destroyed and burnt*

𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 108. 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶  
 sam - si ner - pad - du - i su - nu al - qa - a - a - na  
*in the sun. Their attendants I brought to*

109. 109. e - kim - mi su - nu la za - la - lu  
 Assur their leaders without shelter  
 Assyria,
110. 110. ki - iz - pi sati me u - za - am - mi  
 e - mi - id I placed. The wells of drinking water I dried them
111. 111. 25 immi na - ge - e  
 su - nu - ti ma - lak arah 25 immi na - ge - e  
 up, for a journey of a month and twenty-five days the districts
112. 112. ( )   
 Elam u - saḥ - rib dabu ( - u ) ebiltu  
 of Elam I laid waste, destruction, servitude
113. 113.   
 binti ṣarri ninati ṣarri  
 The daughters of kings, consorts of kings,
114. 114. a - di qi - in - ni maḥ - ri - ti va arku - ti  
 and families former and latter
115. 115.   
 sa ṣarri Elam ki - pa - a - ni  
 of the kings of Elam, the governors and
116. 116.   
 ḥa - za - na - a - ti sa alani sa - a - tu - nu  
 citizens of those cities,
117. 117.   
 ma - la ak - su - du nis rab mitpani sanuti  
 all I had captured; the commanders of archers, prefects,









as - lu - la ul - tu ki - rib Elam  
*I carried off from the midst of Elam;*

33. e - li ki - zir šarn - ti ya u - rad - di  
*over the body of my kingdom I spread.*

34. ši - it - tu - ti a - na ma - ha - zi su - bat Ili ya  
*The rest to the cities seats of my Gods,*

35. sanuti ya nis rabati ya gi - mir  
*my prefects, my great men, and all*

36. karasi ya ki - ma ze - e - ni u - za - hi - iz  
*my camp, like sheep I caused to overflow.*

37. Um - man - al - das šar Elam 38. sa  
*Ummannaldas king of Elam, who the*

su - us - mur kakki Assur va Istar dan - nu - ti e - mu - ru  
*vigour of the powerful soldiers of Assur and Ishtar had seen;*

39. ul - tu sad - e a - sar mar - ki - ti su i - tu - rav - va  
*from the mountain, the place of his refuge, he returned and*

40. ki - rib Ma - dak - tu alu sa ina ki - bit Assur va  
*into Madaktu, the city which by command of Assur and*

41. Istar ab - bu - lu aq - qu - ru (v. qur) as - lu - lu  
*Ishtar I had pulled down, destroyed and carried off*

(v. 𐎶𐎵) 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 42. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
 (v. la) sal-lat šu e - ru - ub u - sib ina ši - bit - ti  
*its spoil; he entered and sat in sorrow,*

𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 43. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
 a - sar ki hul - (le) - e su-par Nabu-bel- zikri  
*in a place dishonoured. Concerning Nebobelzikri,*

𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 44. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
 ablu abli Maraduk-bal- iddina sa ina a - di - ya  
*the grandson of Merodachbaladan; who against my agreement*

𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 45. 𐎶𐎵  
 ih - du - u iz - lu - u niri belu- ti ya sa  
*had sinned, and thrown off the yoke of my dominion: who*

𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
 šarri Elam a - na dan-nu- ti su is - ku - nu  
*on the kings of Elam to strengthen him had relied,*

46. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
 it - tak - lu a - na Um - man - i - gas Tam - ma - ri - tu  
*had trusted to Ummanigas, Tammarithu,*

47. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 48. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
 In - da - bi - gas Um - man - al - das šarri  
*Indabigas and Ummanaldas, kings*

𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 49. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
 sa e - pu - su bi - lut Elam a - mir ya  
*who had ruled the dominion of Elam. My envoy*

𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 50. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
 su - par se - bul Nabu - bel - zikri ina ma - le - e  
*about the surrender of Nebobelzikri, with determination*

𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 (v. 𐎶𐎵) 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 51. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
 lab - ba - a - ti (v. te) u - ma - hi - ir zir  
*of purpose I sent to*

𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶  
 Um - man - al - das      Nabu - bel - zikri      ablu abli  
*Ummannaldas.      Nebobelzikri,      grandson of*

𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 52. 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶  
 Maruduk - bal - iddina      a - lak      a - mir ya sa ki - rib  
*Merodachbaladan,      of the journey of my envoy who into*

𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 53. 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶  
 Elam      e - ru - bu      is - me - e va  
*Elam      had      entered      heard,      and*

𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 (v. 𐎶𐎵𐎶) 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶  
 ik - ku (v. ki) - tu lib - ba su ir - sa a - na suq - tu  
*his heart was afflicted. He inclined to despair,*

54. 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶  
 na - pis - ta su pa - nu - us - su ul i - bis va  
*his life before him he did not regard, and*

55. 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 (v. 𐎶𐎵𐎶) 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 56. 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶  
 ih - su - ha me (v. mi) - tu - u - tu      a - na  
*longed      for      death;      to his*

𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 57. 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶  
 ki - ze - e ra - ma - ni su ig - bi va      um - ma  
*own armour-bearer he said also      thus:*

𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 58. 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶  
 ra - si - ban - ni ina kakki      su - u      ki - zu  
*"Slay me with the sword."      He and his armour-bearer*

𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 (v. 𐎶𐎵𐎶) 𐎶𐎵𐎶  
 su ina gir parzil sib - bi su - nu ub - ta - te (v. ti) - hu  
*with the steel swords of their girdles pierced through*

59. 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 60. 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶  
 a - ha - mis      Um - man - al - das ip - luḥ va      pagar  
*each other. Ummannaldas feared, and the corpse of*

Nabu - bel - zikri      su - a - tu      dābtu      us - ni - il      va  
*that Nebobelzikri [who] benefits trampled on,*

61. a - di      qaqadu      ki - zu      su      sa  
*with the head of his armour-bearer who*

u - ra - (aš-)      ši - bu      su      ina      kakki      a - na  
*destroyed him with the sword, to*

a - mir      ya      id - din      va      u - se - bi - la - as - su      a - di  
*my envoy he gave, and he sent it to*

maḥ - ri      ya      63.      pagar      su      ai      ad - din      [a] - na  
*my presence. His corpse may I not(?) give to*

ki - bi - ri      eli      sa      maḥ - ri      mi - tu - uš      šu  
*burial(?) more than before his death*

ut - tir      va      65.      qaqad      šu      ak - kiš      ina      kikur  
*I returned, and his head I cut off; round the neck of*

Nabu - qati - za - bat      mun - ma - kir      Saul      - mu - gi - na  
*Neboqatizabat the munmakir of Saulmugina*

aḥi      nak - ri      sa      it - ti      su      a - na      dak - ku - ri  
*my rebellious brother, who with him to pass into*

68.      Elam      il - li - ku      a - lul      69.      Pa - he - e  
*Elam had gone; I hung. Pahe*

sa mi - iḥ - rit      Um - man - al - das      e - pu - su  
*who against - Ummanaldas, had ruled the*

be - lut      Elam      na - mur - rat      kakki  
*dominion of Elam, the terror of the powerful*

Assur va Istar iz - zu - ti      sa edu su sanu su salsu su  
*soldiers of Assur and Ishtar, who the first, second, and third time*

id - bu - ku eli      Elam      iḥ - šu - uš  
*had trampled over Elam covered him,*

va ir - sa - a ḍi - ib lib - bi      ul - tu ki - rib  
*and he trusted to the goodness of my heart, from the midst of*

Elam in - nab - tu va      iz - ba - ta niru  
*Elam he fled and took the yoke of*

ṣaru - ti ya      nisi      mul - taḥ - ḍi sa  
*my kingdom. The people, sinners of*

Bit - im - bi - i      Ku - zur - te (- ya) - in  
*Bitimbi, Kuzurtein,*

Dur - ṣar      Ma - ṣu - tu      Bu - be - e  
*Dursar, Masutu, Bube,*

Bit - un - za - ai      Bit - ar - ra - bi  
*Bitunzai, Bitarrabi.*

80. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
 Ip - rat                      Za - gar                      sa                      Ta - pa - pa.  
*Iprat,*                      *Zagar*                      *of*                      *Tapapa,*

81. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
 Ak - bar - i - na                      Gur - u - ki - ir - ra  
*Akbarina,*                      *Gurukirra,*

82. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
 Du - un - nu - sa - mas                      Ha - ma - nu  
*Dunnushamas,*                      *Hamanu,*

83. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
 Ka - ni - zu                      Ar - an - ze - e - se  
*Kanizu,*                      *Aranzese,*

84. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
 Na - ki - da - a - ti                      Timin-ut sa                      Şi - ma - mi  
*Nakidati,*                      *Timinut of Simami,*

85. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
 Bit - qa - ta - at - ti                      Sa - ki - şa - ai  
*Bitqatatti,*                      *Sakisai,*

86. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 87. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
 Zu - ba - he - e                      Tul - hu - un - ba                      sa ina  
*Zubahe,*                      *and Tulhunba,*                      *who in*

𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
 gar - ri ya maḥ - re - e sa la pa - an kakki Assur  
*my former expedition, from the face of the powerful soldiers*

88. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
 va Istar dan - nu - (u) - ti                      in - nab - tu  
*of Assur and Ishtar*                      *fled and*

89. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 (v. 𐎶𐎵) 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
 iz - ba - tu                      Şa - al - ad - ri sad - u mar - zu  
*took to*                      *Saladri, a rugged mountain;*

90. nisi sa-a-tu-nu sa ina Şa-al-ad-ri  
 those people who on Saludri.

91. sad (v. sa-du) - u is - ku - nu a-na dan-nu-ti su-un  
 the mountain fixed their stronghold,

92. nam (v. ri?) - ri - ri Assur va Istar beli ya  
 the terror of Assur and Ishtar my lords

is - hu - ub su-nu - ti 93. ul - tu sad-e a - sar  
 overwhelmed them; from the mountain the place

mar-ki-ti su-un in - nab-tu - niv - va 94. iz - ba - tu  
 of their refuge they fled and took

niri ya a-na mitpanu ak - zur su-nu - ti 95. e - li  
 my yoke; to the bow I appointed them, over

ki - zir şaru - (u) - ti ya 96. sa u - mal - lu - u  
 the body of my kingdom which filled

qatu (v. qa - tu) - u a u - rad - di  
 my hand I spread.

## EXTRACT FROM K, 1364.

a. Tam-ma-ri - tu ahi su qi-nu su ziri bit abi su  
 Tammaritu, his brothers, his kin, the seed of his father's house,

<|>EIII >IIII II [-EIII > >EIII ] b. >E| > >|  
 va rubi a - [li - kut idi su] la pa - an  
*and the princes going [before him]; from the face of*

I EIII EII II II >|> I EIII >| >| E| >| >| EIII <EII  
 In - da - bi-gas ardu su in -nab-tu va iz - ba - ta niru  
*Indabigas his servant fled, and took the yoke*

EIII [->|> >EII] EIII II EII >EII c. E| >| II EIII  
 šaru [-ti ya] a - mir ya su - par a - lak  
*of [my] kingdom. My envoy concerning the journey of*

>| >| >| II <E| >| <E| >EII >EII E| > >| II >|  
 Na - na - a ul - tu ki - rib Su - sa - an a - na  
*Nana from the midst of Shushan to*

>EIII <E| II [->|> > <|> E| <E|] d. II >|  
 Aruk a - [di Elam] a - na  
*Erech; to [Elam] to*

I >EIII < >E| EII >EII EIII > <|> E| <E| >EII I E|  
 Um -man- al - da - ši šar Elam as-pur su va  
*Ummanaldas king of Elam I sent him, and*

<E|> \* \* \* \* \* e. > <|> II > <E| EIII >|>  
 ul \* \* \* \* \* sal - si - a-nu ina saplita Nabu  
*he did not [grant it?]. A third time in obedience to Nebo,*

>E EIII >|> >|> >|> >|> < > < >|> >|> >|>  
 ablu šar Ili kap- ti sa lab-bu - u nam - ri - ri  
*son of the king of the Gods, mighty, clothed with terror,*






II >| >| <|> E| <E| >E| >|] f. < > >|> >EII >|> >|>  
 a - na [Elam al - lik] 14 alani dan-nu- ti  
*to [Elam I went]; fourteen cities, strong,*

> >EIII >|> I >EII, &c. See Cyl. A, col. VI, line 27.  
 mu - sab šaru - ti su- un, &c.  
*seats of their royalty, &c.*







ɛ̃ | ɛ̃ - ɛ̃ ] - ɛ̃ ɛ̃ ɛ̃ | ɛ̃ ɛ̃ ɛ̃ - ɛ̃ | ɛ̃ ɛ̃ ɛ̃ ɛ̃ - ɛ̃ ɛ̃ ɛ̃ ɛ̃ - ɛ̃ ɛ̃ ɛ̃ ɛ̃ - ɛ̃ ɛ̃ ɛ̃ ɛ̃      e. [ɛ̃ ɛ̃ ɛ̃ ɛ̃ - ɛ̃ ɛ̃  
 iz - ba] - tu      e - pu - su   ardu - u - ti      [ul - tu  
*took,                doing                homage                to                me ;                [from the*







ki - rib]                      Elam                      al - qa - a                      a - na                      Assur  
*midst] of                      Elam                      I brought to                      Assyria.*

f.    
zalam Ḫal- lu - šu šar Elam an-nu-u   
*[A statue] of Halludus king of Elam, the one*

g.   
[sa a-na]                      Assur                      ig - bu - du                      li - mut - tu  
[who against]                      Assyria                      had                      devised                      evil,




h.    
[eli] Sin - aḥi - irba šar Assur abu abi   
[against] *Sennacherib king of Assyria, the grandfather*

bani ya                  i. [e - bu] -su    zi - lu - u                  j. pu su sa  
my begetter,              he had made war.                  His mouth, which

is - ni - iz - zu      ak - kiş

\*      \*      \*      \*      , *I cut off*;























şapti      su sa

*his lips, which*

ig - ba - a mi - ri - ih - - tu ap - ru - uh      7. qati su  
spoke defiance, I tore out; his hands

u - kar - ri - it      sa mitpanu iz - ba - tu      m.      a - na  
*I cut off, which the bow had held      to*

mit - hu - zi                      Assur                      a - na      da - la - li  
*fight*                                      *Assyria.*                      *For the exalting of*



u - paḥ - ḥir      h. a - du - u   ina   eli   nahr   a - na  
gathered.      Now   across   the   river   in

tar - zi      i. a - ḥa - mis   na - du - u   Ba - sa - za  
front      of each other they are placed." Basaza

j. sa   a - na   e - kal   as - pu - ra   de - en   su - nu  
whom   to   the   palace   I   send,   their   news

k. ḥa - ri - iṣ   ina   e - kal   lis - ha - al   su  
testifies; in the palace may he inquire of him.

K, 2664 AND K, 3101. VARIANT FOR CYLINDER A, COLUMN VI,  
LINE 43, TO COLUMN VII, LINE 19.

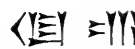
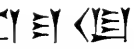

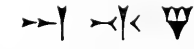
a. 60 kas - pu   qaḡ - qa - ru      b. ki - rib   Elam  
Sixty kaspu of ground      within   Elam





c. u - saḥ - rib      d. dab - u   ebiltu   ḥasasu  
I laid waste,      destruction, servitude and drought

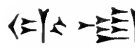




e. u - sap - pi - ḥa   zir - us - su - un      f. Na - na - a  
I poured over them,      Nana






g. sa   1,535      sanat   an - na - i  
who   1,535      years






h. ta - aṣ - bu - ṣu   (v. su)   va   tal - li - ku      i. tu - si - bu  
had been desecrated, had gone,      and dwelt






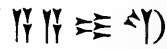


*j.*

  
 ki - rib                      Elam                      ta - ai - rat      Ilu - ti sa  
*in                      Elam.                      The return of her divinity*




*k.*



  
 tu - sat - gi - la      pa - nu - u a                      a - mat Ilu - ti sa sa  
*she entrusted to me.                      The will of her divinity, which*





*m.*
  
 ul - tu      immi                      ruquti                      tag - bu - u                      e - nin - na  
*from days remote she had uttered;                      again*











*n.*
  
 tu - kal - li      - ma                      nisi                      arkuti                      qati  
*she spoke to later people.                      The hands of*


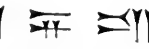



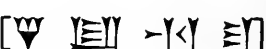



 (v.  -  - a - mat - sa)  
 Na - na - a                      Uzur - amat      sa                      (v. U - zur - a - mat - sa)  
*Nana,                      Uzuramat*

*o.*



 (v. 

  
 Ilu      Arka      - ai - i - tu                      Ilu      ar      - ka - ai - i - tu  
*the Erechite God,*




 , &c.  
 at - mu - uḥ      va, &c.  
*I took hold of, and, &c.*

## EXTRACT FROM K, 2631.

12.
 




  
 Ku - dur - na - an - ḥu - un - di                      E - la - mu - u  
*Kudurnanhundi                      the                      Elamite*






  
 sa      ni - is                      Ili                      rabati                      la      [ip - lu - ḥu va]  
*who the worship of the great Gods did not [fear],*

13. sa ina sa-ne - e de - e - mi a - na e - muq ra - ma - ni  
 who in an evil resolve to his own force

I su [it - ta - ki - lu] 14. a - na es - re - e - ti  
 [trusted] on the temples of

Akkad qat şu id - du - u va u - sal - pi - tu  
 Akkad his hands he had laid, and he oppressed

Akkad \* \* \* \* \* 15. immi im - lu - u  
 Akkad [Nana he carried off(?)], the days were full,

uk - ki - pa - a dan - nu Ili rabati ip - se - te - e  
 extinguished(?) was power, and the great Gods [these] things

16. a - na 2 nir 7 sus 15 sanat an - na - i  
 \* \* \* \* \* [saw]. For two ner seven sos and fifteen years

sapliti(?) E - la - mi \* \* \* \* \* 17. ya - a - ti  
 under the Elamites [she remained. The great Gods] of me

Assur - bani - pal rubu pa - laş su - un a - na şa - pa - aḥ  
 Assurbanipal the prince their worshipper, to overwhelm

18. u - ma - hi - ir - u in - ni va kakki  
 \* \* \* \* \* [Elam] they sent me, and soldiers

la pa \* \* \* \* \*  
 not \* \* \* \* \*

## K, 359. LETTER FROM UMMANALDAS TO ASSURBANIPAL.

1. Sar Um-man- al - da - ši şar Elam  
From Ummannaldas king of Elam
2. a - na Assur-bani-pal şar Assur lu -u salim-mu  
to Assurbanipal king of Assyria. Peace
3. a - na ahi ya ultu ris nis Mar - te - na - ai  
to my brother, from the first the Marteni
4. iḥ - ti - id - ḡu u - nik - ka Nabu-bel- zikri  
had sinned and fought(?) Nebobelzikri,
5. a - na a-ḥu - la na - az zu -u-ni bir - ti \* \* \*  
to get away, they were flying(?) by the border \* \* \*
6. bir - ti Elam uş - şa - an - ḥi - i \* \* \*  
the border of Elam \* \* \* \* \*
7. id - da - a - ti at - ta tas - sap - ra va - a  
forces do thou send, for
- Nabu - bel - zikri 8. se - bi - la az - za bat  
Nebobelzikri to surrender I took.
- Nabu - bel - zikri uş - ši - bil ka 9. nis  
Nebobelzikri I will surrender to thee. The

Mar - te - na - ai sa ultu ris Nabu - bel - zikri  
*Marteni who from the first Nebobelzikri*

10. a - na Elam na - az - zu  
*to Elam in flight*

u - zu - ni \* \* \* ni nisi ya i - ba - as - si  
*fled \* \* \* my people being*

sa ina eli me \* \* \* \* ni ina lib uzni  
*over against the water \* \* \* \* into the interior of*

I su-nu e - tar - bu \* sal(?) id(?) - ri(?) su(?) ina La - hi - ri  
*their ears entered the same \* \* \* \* in Lahiri*

it - tah - zu - u va - a nisi i - ba - as - si  
*they urged. Now the people being*




adi ta - hu - mi su-nu a - sap - par ina eli su-nu  
*in their neighbourhood I sent against them*

ardi ya sa ih - du - u - nin - ni ina  
*my servants, who sinned against me in*

qati su-nu u - ma - hi - [ir] sum-ma ina mati ya su-nu  
*their hands I placed; when in my country they*

ana-ku ina qati su-nu u \* \* \* \* va sum-ma  
*were I in their hands \* \* \* \* and when the*



The king Halludus, whose statue was carried away and mutilated, must have reigned during the last years of Sennacherib; the form Halluši is another example of דש or הש becoming ס; the name is sometimes written in the Susian Inscriptions | ▶▶ |  |  |  | Hal-lu-du-us.

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





## PART XII.





*The Arabian War.*






## TEXTS.







The texts of the Arabian War are Cylinder A, col. vii, line 97, to col. ix, line 112; Cylinder B, col. vii, line 87, to col. viii, line 57; K, 2802; K, 3096; and K, 562.






CYLINDER A, COLUMN VII, LINE 97, TO COLUMN IX, LINE 112.

97.        
I - na 9 gar - ri ya ad - ki umman ya  
*In my ninth expedition I gathered my army,*

98.      
zir U - ai - te - eh sar A - ri - bi  
*against Vaiteh king of Arabia*

99.       
us - te - es - se - ra mur - ra - nu sa ina a - di - ya  
*I directed the march, who against my agreement*

100.        
ih - du - u dabtu e - pu - su - us la iz - zur - u va  
*had sinned; the benefits done to him he did not regard, and*

101.     102.   
iz - la - a niru bel - (u) - ti ya sa  
*threw off the yoke of my dominion. When*

Assur e - mi - du - us (v. I) i - su - du ab - sa - (a) - ni  
*Assur had set him up to perform my pleasure,*

103. a - na sa - ha - al sul - mi (v. me) ya sepu su  
*to seek my alliance his feet*

ip - ru - us va 104. ik - la - a ta - mar - ti  
*broke off, and he ended his*

man - da - at - ta su ka - bit - tu (v. tu) ki - i  
*presents and great tribute. When*

Elam da - bab sur - ra - a - ti Akkad  
*Elam was speaking sedition with Akkad,*

is - mi va 106. la iz - zu - ra a - di - ya  
*he heard and disregarded my agreement.*

ya - a - ti Assur-bani-pal 107. sar sangu ellu re - e - su  
*Of me Assurbanipal, the king, the noble priest, the*

mud - nin - nu - u 108. bi - nu - tu qati Assur u - vas - sir  
*powerful leader, the work of the hands of Assur, he left*

an - ni va 109. a - na A - bi - ya - te - eh Ai - mu abli  
*me, and to Abiyateh and Aimu, sons of*

Te - ha - ri 110. e - mu - ki it - ti su - nu - ti a - na  
*Tehari, his forces with them to*

ri - zu - ti                      111.    Saul       - mu - gi - na  
*the help of*                      *Saulmugina*

aḥi   nak - ri   is - pur va                      is - ta - kan pi - i su  
*my rebellious brother he sent, and*                      *set his face.*

nisi       A - ri - bi                      it - ti su   u - sam - kir  
*The people of Arabia*                      *with him he caused to revolt,*

va    iḥ - ta - nab - ba - ta                      ḥu - bu - ut   nisi  
*and carried away the*                      *plunder of the people*

sa   Assur   Istar   va   Ili   rabati                      id - din - u - ni  
*whom Assur, Ishtar, and the great Gods*                      *had given me,*

riu - ši - na   e - pi - su                      va       u - mal - lu - u  
*their government I had ruled,*                      *and they were in*

qa - tu - u   a                      ina   ki - bit   Assur   va   Istar  
*my hand.*                      *By command of Assur and Ishtar*

umman   ya   ina   gi - ra - a                      A - za - ar - an  
*my army in the region of*                      *Azaran,*

Hi - ra - ta - a - qa - za - ai                      ina       U - du - mi   ina  
*Hirataqaza,*                      *in Edom, in the*

ni - rib       Ya - ab - ru - du                      ina       Bit - am - ma - ni  
*neighbourhood of Yabrud,*                      *in Beth Ammon,*

— — — — — 121. —  
 ina na - ge - e sa Ha - u - ri - na - ina  
*in the district of the Hauran, in*

— — — — —  
 Mu - ha - a - ba ina Ša - ha - ar - ri  
*Moab, in Saharri,*

122. — — — — —  
 ina Ha - ar - ge - e ina na - ge - e sa  
*in Harge, in the district of*

— — — — —  
 Zu - bi - te  
*Zobah.*

## COLUMN VIII.

1. < — — — — — I — — — — —  
 di - ik - ta su ma - ha - at - tu a - duk ina la mi - ni  
*His numerous fighting men I slew without number,*

— — — — — 2. < — — — — —  
 as - kun abikta su nisi A - ri - bi ma - la it - ti  
*I accomplished his overthrow. The people of Arabia, all who with*

I — — — — — 3. — — — — —  
 su it bu - u - ni u - ra - (aş -) şib ina kakki  
*him came, I destroyed with the sword;*

< — — — — — 4. — — — — —  
 va su - u la pa - an kakki Assur dan - nu - ti  
*and he from the face of the powerful soldiers of Assur,*

— — — — — 5. — — — — —  
 ip - par - sid va in - na - bit a - na ru - ke - e - ti  
*fled and got away to a distance.*

𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 6. 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶  
 bit - zin zir - ta - ra - ti mu - sa - bi su - nu  
*The tents, the pavilions, their dwellings,*

𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶  
 kamu u - sa - hi - iz - zu ik - mu ina isati  
*a fire they raised, and burned in the flames.*

7. 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶  
 U - ai - te - eh ma - ru - us - tu im - har su va  
*Vaitech, misfortune happened to him, and*

8. 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶  
 e - dis - si su in - na - bit a - na Na - ba - ai - ti  
*alone he fled to Nabatea.*

9. 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶  
 U - ai - te - eh ablu Ha - za - il ahu abi  
*Vaitech son of Hazail, brother of the father*

10. 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶  
 sa U - ai - te - eh ablu Bir - vul [sa  
*of Vaitech son of Birvul, who*

𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 11. 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶  
 ra] - man su is - ku - nu a - na šaru - ti A - ri - bi  
*himself appointed to the kingdom of Arabia;*

12. 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 [𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶] 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 [𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶]  
 Assur šar [Ili] sad - u rabu - u de - [e - mu]  
*Assur king of the Gods the strong and mighty, a decree*

13. 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 [𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶] 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶  
 u - sa - an - ni va [il - li] - ka a - di  
*repeated, and he came to*

𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 14. 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶  
 maḥ - ri ya a - na kul - lu ta - us - ti Assur  
*my presence. To satisfy the law of Assur*



24. Kit-mu- ri Istar sa Arba- il Nimip Nergal  
*Kitmuri, Ishtar of Arbela, Ninip, Nergal*

25. Nusku abikta su as - kun sa - a - su  
*and Nusku, his overthrow I accomplished. Himself*

26. bal - du - uş - şu it - ti [A - di - ya - a] allat  
*alive with [Adiya] the wife of*

27. U - ai - te - eh şar A - ri - bi iğ - ba - tu - niv - va  
*Vaiteh king of Arabia, they captured and*

28. u - bil - u - ni a - di maḥ - ri ya ina ki - bit  
*brought to my presence. By command*

Ili rabati beli ya ul - li kalbi  
*of the great Gods my lords, with the dogs*

29. as - kun su va u - sa - an - zir su si - ga - ru  
*I placed him, and I caused him to be kept chained.*

30. ina ki - bit Assur Istar va Ili rabati beli ya  
*By command of Assur, Ishtar, and the great Gods my lords,*

31. sa A - bi - ya - te - eh Ai - mu abli Te - he - ri  
*of Abiyatch and Aimu sons of Tehari,*

32. sa a - na ri - zu - (u) - tu Saul - mu - gi - na  
*who to the help of Saulmugina*

33. ahi nak - ri a - na e - rib Bab - ili  
*my rebellious brother to enter Babylon*

34. il - li - ku ri - ze - e su a - duk abikta su  
*went ; his helpers I slew, his overthrow*

35. as - kun ši - it - tu - ti sa ki - rib  
*I accomplished. The remainder who into*

Bab - ili e - ru - bu ina şu - un - ki  
*Babylon entered, in went and*

36. hu - suh - hi e - ku - lu şeri a - ha - mis a - na  
*hunger eat the flesh of each other. To*

su - zu - ub naps - ti su - nu ul - tu ki - rib  
*save their lives, from the midst of*

38. Bab - ili u - zu - niv - va  
*Babylon they came out, and*

e - mu - ki ya sa ina eli Saul - mu - gi - na  
*my forces which around Saulmugina*

39. sak - nu sa - ni - (ya) - a - nu abikta su is - ku - nu va  
*were placed, a second time his overthrow accomplished ; and*

40. su - u e - dis ip - par - sid va a - na su - zu - ub  
*he alone, fled, and to save*





59. I A - bi - ya - te - eh  
 ablu Te - he - (e) - ri la  
*son of Teheri did not*

60. ma-mit Ili rabati  
 \* \* \* dābtu la na - zir  
 \* \* \* *benefits, disregarding the* *oath of the great Gods,*

61. id - bu - ub va  
 da - bab šur - ra - a - ti it - ti ya  
*sedition words against me he spoke, and*

62. Na - ad - ni šar Na - ba - ai - ti  
 pi - i su it - ti  
*his face with Nathan king of Nabatea*

63. id - ku - u - ni  
 is - kun va e - mu - ki su - nu  
*he set; and their forces they gathered*

a - na ti - ib limut a - na me - šir ya  
 to commit evil against my border.

64. ina ki - bit Assur Sin Samas Vul Bel Nabu  
*By command of Assur, Sin, Shamas, Vul, Bel, Nebo,*

65. Istar sa Ninua Il sar - rat Kit - mu - ri  
*Ishtar of Nineveh the divine queen of Kitmuri,*

66. Istar sa Arba - il Ninip Nergal Nusku  
*Ishtar of Arbela, Ninip, Nergal and Nusku,*

67. uminan ya ad - ki zir A - bi - ya - te - eh  
*my army I gathered; against Abiyateh*

68. us - te - es - se - ra mur - ra - nu Idikkal  
*I directed the march. The Tigris*

69. () Purat ina meli si - na (gab - si)  
 (va) and the Euphrates in their flood (strong)

(v. ) 70.   
 sal - mis (v. sal - mi - is) lu - u e - bi - ru ir - du - u  
*peacefully they crossed, they marched,*

ur - hi ru - qu - u - ti e - be - lu e - te - [lu]  
*a distant path they took, they ascended*

71.   
 har - sa - a - ni sa - qu - ti ih - tal - lu - bu  
*the lofty country, they passed through*

[ ] 72.   
 kisti sa zu - lul si - na rap - su  
*the forests, of which their shadow was rust,*

73.   
 bi - rit izi rabati gi - iz - zu \* \* \* \* \*  
*bounded by trees great and strong, and vines(?) a*

74.   
 mur - ra - an iz - id - de - e - tu e - te - it - ti - qu  
*road of mighty wood. They went*

75.   
 ana nakiri Vas a - sar zu - um - mi dan - dan - ti  
*to the rebels of Vas, a place arid and very difficult,*

76.   
 sa izzur same la \* \* \* \* \* imiri  
*where the bird of heaven had not \* \* \* \* \* wild*

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 [𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵] 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵  
 zini la [u - ba] - hu - u ina lib - bi  
*asses they found not in it.*

77. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 78. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵  
 100 kas-pu qaq-qa - ru ul - tu Ninua alu  
 100 *kaspu of ground, from Nineveh the city*

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 79. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵  
 na - ram Is - tar hi - rat Bel zir  
*the delight of Ishtar, wife of Bel; against*

(v. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵) 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵  
 (v. arku) U - ai - te - eh šar A - ri - bi  
 (v. after) *Vaitech king of Arabia*

80. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵  
 va A-bi- ya - te - eh it - ti e-mu- ki  
*and Abiyateh with the forces*

81. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 (v. 𐎶𐎵) 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵  
 Na - ba - ai - ta - ai il - li - ka  
*of the Nabateans, they went.*

(v. 𐎶𐎵) 82. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵  
 (v. ku) ir-du - u il - li - ku ina arah Šivanu  
*They marched and went in the month Sivan,*

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 83. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵  
 arah Sin ablu ris - te - e a-sa - ri - du sa  
*the month of Sin the eldest son and first of*

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 84. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵  
 Bel immi 25 sa da - hu sa be - lat  
*Bel, the twenty-seventh day, on the festival of the lady of*

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 85. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵  
 Bab - ili ka - bit - ti Ili rabati  
*Babylon, the mighty one of the great Gods.*

86. <𐎶𐎵𐎶 (v. 𐎶𐎵𐎶) 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
 ul - tu (v. ultu) Ha - da - at - ta - a at - tu - zir  
*From Haulatta I departed;*

87. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 (𐎶𐎵) 𐎶𐎵  
 ina La - ri - ib - da bit - dur sa abni  
*in Laribda a tower of stones,*

88. 𐎶𐎵 <𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
 ina eli gu - ub - ba - a - ni sa me at - ta - di  
*over against lakes of water; I pitched*

𐎶𐎵 << 𐎶𐎵 89. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
 us - man - ni umman ya me a - na mas - ti - ti su - nu  
*my camp. My army the waters for their drink*

𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 90. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 < 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
 ih - bu va ir - du - u il - li - ku qaq - qar  
*desired, and they marched and went over*

𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 (v. <𐎶𐎵) 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 91. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
 zu - um - mi (v. me) a - sar dan - dan - ti a - di  
*arid ground, a place very difficult, to*

𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
 Hu - ra - ri - na bi - rit Ya - ar - ki  
*Hurarina near Yarki,*

92. <𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
 va Ai - al - la ina Vas as - ru ru - u - qu  
*and Aialla in Vas, a place remote,*

93. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 (𐎶𐎵) 𐎶𐎵 <  
 a - sar u - ma - am zin la ib - ba - (as) - su - u  
*a place the beast of the desert was not in,*

94. <𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 (v. 𐎶𐎵𐎶) 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
 va izzur same la i - sak - kan (v. ka - nu) qi - nu  
*and a bird of heaven had not fixed a nest.*





112. u - sa - as - ki - na se - pu - us - su - un arah Abu arah  
*I caused their feet to take. In the month Ab, the month*

kakab bam 113. bintu sin qa - sit - tu immi 3  
*of Sagittarius daughter of Sin, the archer; the third day,*

nu - be - tu 114. sa şar Ili Maruduk ul - tu  
*the festival of the king of the Gods, Merodach, from*

Di - mas - qa 115. at - tu - zir 6 kas - pu qaq - qa - ru  
*Damascus I departed. Six kaspu of ground*

ina mati si - na ka - la sa 116. ar - de - e va  
*in their country all of it I marched, and*

al - lik a - di 117. Hul - hu - li - ti ina  
*went to Hulhuliti. In*

(v. ) Hu - uk - ku - ru - na sad - u mar - zu  
*Hukkuruna, the rugged mountain,*

118. ha - lu sa 119. A - bi - ya - te - eh ablu  
*the servants of Abiyateh son of*

Te - ha - ri 119. Kid - ra - ai ak - su - ud (v. sud)  
*Tehari of Kedar I captured;*

abikta su as - kun 120. as - lu - la sal - lat su  
*his overthrow I accomplished, I carried off his spoil.*

117 118 119 120 121. 122. 123. 124. 125. 126. 127. 128. 129. 130. 131. 132. 133. 134. 135. 136. 137. 138. 139. 140. 141. 142. 143. 144. 145. 146. 147. 148. 149. 150. 151. 152. 153. 154. 155. 156. 157. 158. 159. 160. 161. 162. 163. 164. 165. 166. 167. 168. 169. 170. 171. 172. 173. 174. 175. 176. 177. 178. 179. 180. 181. 182. 183. 184. 185. 186. 187. 188. 189. 190. 191. 192. 193. 194. 195. 196. 197. 198. 199. 200. 201. 202. 203. 204. 205. 206. 207. 208. 209. 210. 211. 212. 213. 214. 215. 216. 217. 218. 219. 220. 221. 222. 223. 224. 225. 226. 227. 228. 229. 230. 231. 232. 233. 234. 235. 236. 237. 238. 239. 240. 241. 242. 243. 244. 245. 246. 247. 248. 249. 250. 251. 252. 253. 254. 255. 256. 257. 258. 259. 260. 261. 262. 263. 264. 265. 266. 267. 268. 269. 270. 271. 272. 273. 274. 275. 276. 277. 278. 279. 280. 281. 282. 283. 284. 285. 286. 287. 288. 289. 290. 291. 292. 293. 294. 295. 296. 297. 298. 299. 300. 301. 302. 303. 304. 305. 306. 307. 308. 309. 310. 311. 312. 313. 314. 315. 316. 317. 318. 319. 320. 321. 322. 323. 324. 325. 326. 327. 328. 329. 330. 331. 332. 333. 334. 335. 336. 337. 338. 339. 340. 341. 342. 343. 344. 345. 346. 347. 348. 349. 350. 351. 352. 353. 354. 355. 356. 357. 358. 359. 360. 361. 362. 363. 364. 365. 366. 367. 368. 369. 370. 371. 372. 373. 374. 375. 376. 377. 378. 379. 380. 381. 382. 383. 384. 385. 386. 387. 388. 389. 390. 391. 392. 393. 394. 395. 396. 397. 398. 399. 400. 401. 402. 403. 404. 405. 406. 407. 408. 409. 410. 411. 412. 413. 414. 415. 416. 417. 418. 419. 420. 421. 422. 423. 424. 425. 426. 427. 428. 429. 430. 431. 432. 433. 434. 435. 436. 437. 438. 439. 440. 441. 442. 443. 444. 445. 446. 447. 448. 449. 450. 451. 452. 453. 454. 455. 456. 457. 458. 459. 460. 461. 462. 463. 464. 465. 466. 467. 468. 469. 470. 471. 472. 473. 474. 475. 476. 477. 478. 479. 480. 481. 482. 483. 484. 485. 486. 487. 488. 489. 490. 491. 492. 493. 494. 495. 496. 497. 498. 499. 500. 501. 502. 503. 504. 505. 506. 507. 508. 509. 510. 511. 512. 513. 514. 515. 516. 517. 518. 519. 520. 521. 522. 523. 524. 525. 526. 527. 528. 529. 530. 531. 532. 533. 534. 535. 536. 537. 538. 539. 540. 541. 542. 543. 544. 545. 546. 547. 548. 549. 550. 551. 552. 553. 554. 555. 556. 557. 558. 559. 560. 561. 562. 563. 564. 565. 566. 567. 568. 569. 570. 571. 572. 573. 574. 575. 576. 577. 578. 579. 580. 581. 582. 583. 584. 585. 586. 587. 588. 589. 590. 591. 592. 593. 594. 595. 596. 597. 598. 599. 600. 601. 602. 603. 604. 605. 606. 607. 608. 609. 610. 611. 612. 613. 614. 615. 616. 617. 618. 619. 620. 621. 622. 623. 624. 625. 626. 627. 628. 629. 630. 631. 632. 633. 634. 635. 636. 637. 638. 639. 640. 641. 642. 643. 644. 645. 646. 647. 648. 649. 650. 651. 652. 653. 654. 655. 656. 657. 658. 659. 660. 661. 662. 663. 664. 665. 666. 667. 668. 669. 670. 671. 672. 673. 674. 675. 676. 677. 678. 679. 680. 681. 682. 683. 684. 685. 686. 687. 688. 689. 690. 691. 692. 693. 694. 695. 696. 697. 698. 699. 700. 701. 702. 703. 704. 705. 706. 707. 708. 709. 710. 711. 712. 713. 714. 715. 716. 717. 718. 719. 720. 721. 722. 723. 724. 725. 726. 727. 728. 729. 730. 731. 732. 733. 734. 735. 736. 737. 738. 739. 740. 741. 742. 743. 744. 745. 746. 747. 748. 749. 750. 751. 752. 753. 754. 755. 756. 757. 758. 759. 760. 761. 762. 763. 764. 765. 766. 767. 768. 769. 770. 771. 772. 773. 774. 775. 776. 777. 778. 779. 780. 781. 782. 783. 784. 785. 786. 787. 788. 789. 790. 791. 792. 793. 794. 795. 796. 797. 798. 799. 800. 801. 802. 803. 804. 805. 806. 807. 808. 809. 810. 811. 812. 813. 814. 815. 816. 817. 818. 819. 820. 821. 822. 823. 824. 825. 826. 827. 828. 829. 830. 831. 832. 833. 834. 835. 836. 837. 838. 839. 840. 841. 842. 843. 844. 845. 846. 847. 848. 849. 850. 851. 852. 853. 854. 855. 856. 857. 858. 859. 860. 861. 862. 863. 864. 865. 866. 867. 868. 869. 870. 871. 872. 873. 874. 875. 876. 877. 878. 879. 880. 881. 882. 883. 884. 885. 886. 887. 888. 889. 890. 891. 892. 893. 894. 895. 896. 897. 898. 899. 900. 901. 902. 903. 904. 905. 906. 907. 908. 909. 910. 911. 912. 913. 914. 915. 916. 917. 918. 919. 920. 921. 922. 923. 924. 925. 926. 927. 928. 929. 930. 931. 932. 933. 934. 935. 936. 937. 938. 939. 940. 941. 942. 943. 944. 945. 946. 947. 948. 949. 950. 951. 952. 953. 954. 955. 956. 957. 958. 959. 960. 961. 962. 963. 964. 965. 966. 967. 968. 969. 970. 971. 972. 973. 974. 975. 976. 977. 978. 979. 980. 981. 982. 983. 984. 985. 986. 987. 988. 989. 990. 991. 992. 993. 994. 995. 996. 997. 998. 999. 1000.

ina ki - bit Assur va Istar beli ya ina  
*by command of Assur and Ishtar my lords, in the*

qabal tam-ħa - ri bal - ğu - ğun u - ğab - bit ina qa - ti  
*midst of battle alive I captured in hand.*

123. qati va sepi bi - ri - tu parzil ad - di su - nu - ti  
*Hand and foot in bonds of iron I placed them,*

## COLUMN IX.










1. it - ti sal - lat mati su - un al - qa - as - su - nu - ti  
*With the spoil of their country I brought them*










2. a - na Assur mun - nab - ti sa la pa - an  
*to Assyria. The fugitives, who from the face of*










kakki ya in - nab - tu ib - ba - ğu va iz - ba - tu  
*my soldiers fled, ascended(?) and took to*










4. Ħu - uk - ku - ru - na sad - u mar - zu ina  
*Hukkuruna the rugged mountain. In*

La - an - ğa - ab - bi \* \* \* \* ru \* \* \* \* an  
*Laanhabbi \* \* \* \* \**

a.           
\* \* u  
\* \* \*


b.           
\* \* u va  
\* \* \* *and*

c.           
\* \* la  
\* \* \*

d.           
\* \* su - nu  
\* \* *them*











e.            

$$g. \quad \begin{array}{c} \text{[Pattern: 6x6 grid of small triangles]} \\ * \quad * \quad * \quad * \quad * \quad * \\ * \quad * \quad * \quad * \quad * \quad * \end{array} \quad \begin{array}{c} \text{[Symbol: Two horizontal bars with dots]} \\ \text{qu} \\ * \end{array} \quad h. \quad \begin{array}{c} \text{[Pattern: 6x6 grid of small triangles]} \\ * \quad * \quad * \quad * \quad * \quad * \\ * \quad * \quad * \quad * \quad * \quad * \end{array} \quad \begin{array}{c} \text{[Symbol: Three horizontal bars with dots]} \\ \text{su} \\ * \end{array}$$


26.    
 alpi      ze - e - ni      imiri      gammali  
*oxen,*      *sheep,*      *asses,*      \* *camels*

27. 𐀀 𐀁 𐀂 𐀃 𐀄 𐀅 𐀆 𐀇 𐀈 𐀉 𐀊 𐀋 𐀌 𐀍 𐀎  
a - mi - lu - tu is - lu - lu - u - ni ina la mi - ni  
*and men, they carried off without number.*

28.    ʃɪ - lɪ - ip matu   ka - la - mu a - na   ʃɪ - hɪr - ti su  
*The sweeping of all the country through its extent,*

29.             
un - da - al - lu - u a - na pat gim - ri sa  
*they collected through the whole of it.*

30.   𐎔𐎕𐎖𐏀𐎗𐏁   𐎒𐎚𐎛𐎟𐎡𐎥𐏃𐎧𐏄𐎠𐏂𐎫𐏆  
gam-mal - i      kima ze - e - ni     u -par- ri -iz  
*Camels like sheep, I distributed and*

31.   
u - za - hi - iz a - na nisi Assur  
*caused to overflow to the people of Assyria*



bu - bu - ti    nap - sat    şu] - un    is - sa - kin    va  
[and famine    their    lives]    were    spent,    and

43. a - na bu - ri [su-nu e - ku] - lu    şeri    mari su-nu  
for their food they eat the flesh of their children.

44. ina ar - ra - a \* \* \* \* \*  
With a curse(?) \* \* \* \* \*

e - di - id - di su - nu    gagara (v. ru?)  
\* \* \* \* \* them    \* \* \* \* \*

45. ina bit Assur abu [Ili] lim(?) mu su-nu - ti  
in the house of Assur father of [the Gods] \* \* \* them

46. Assur Sin Samas Vul Bel Nabu  
Assur, Sin, Shamash, Vul, Bel, Nebo,

47. Istar sa Ninua Il şar - rat Kit-mu - ri  
Ishtar of Nineveh, the divine queen of Kitmuri,

48. Istar sa Arba- il Ninip Nergal Nusku  
Ishtar of Arbela, Ninip, Nergal, Nusku,

49. ba - ak - ru şu - hi - ru alpu zēnu ina eli  
camels(?) strong, oxen and sheep, more than

7 ta - a - an mu-se-ni - qa - a - ti e - ni - qu - u va  
seven the sacrificers sacrificed, and

51. si - is - pu la u - şap - pu - u ka - raş şun  
for eating they did not eat - their carcasses.

52. nisi A - ri - bi edin a - na edin  
The people of Arabia one to another,

is - ta - na - ha - a - lū a - ha - mis um - ma  
addressed each other thus :

ina eli me - ne - e ki - i ip - se - tu an - ni - tu 54.   
“Concerning the number of these evil things,

limut - tu im - hu - ru A - ri - bi um - ma as - su 55.   
which happened to Arabia, because

a - de - e rabati sa Assur la ni - iz - zu - ru  
the great agreements with Assur we have not regarded ;

56. ni - ih - du - u ina dābtu Assur - bani - pal şar 57.   
and we have sinned against the benefits of Assurbanipal, the king,

na - ram lib - bi Bel Belat ri - im - tu 58.   
the delight of the heart of Bel.” Beltis the consort of

Bel - i - ti 59. ka - dir - ti i - la - a - ti  
Bel, the guardian of divinity ;

60. sa it - ti A - nu va Bel sit - lu - du - at  
who with Anu and Bel in dominion

61. << 𐎶 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 (v. 𐎶𐎵) 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵  
 man-za- zu u - na -qab (v. qab?) nakiri ya ina  
 is established: pierced my enemies with

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 62. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵  
 garni sa bi- ra -a- te Istar a- si -bat Arba- il  
 horns of iron. Ishtar dwelling in Arbela,

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 63. 𐎶𐎵(?) 𐎶𐎵(?) 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵(?) 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵  
 isati lab - bu -sat \* \* \* \* \* na - sa - at  
 with fire clothed; \* \* \* \* \* drought(?)

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵  
 eli A - ri - bi i - za - an - nun nab - li  
 upon Arabia poured down.

64. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵  
 Uruki qar - du a - nun - tu ku - uz - zur va  
 Uruki the warrior, mourning caused and

65. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 (𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵) 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵  
 u - ra - (aš) - ši - ba ga - ri ya  
 destroyed my enemies.

66. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵  
 Nin - ip tar - ta - hu qar - ra - du rab - u  
 Ninip fierce, in war great,

67. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵  
 ablu Bel ina uz - zi su kap - ti  
 the son of Bel; with his mighty arrows

68. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 [𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵] 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵  
 u - par - ri - [ir] na - pis - ti nakiri ya  
 destroyed the life of my enemies.

69. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵  
 Nusku suqul na - ha - du mu - sa - bu - u bel - u - ti  
 Nusku the glorious messenger, sitting in dominion;

70. sa ina ki - bit Assur Belat \* \* \* bit  
*who by command of Assur and Beltis* \* \* \* \*

71. qa - sit - tu Be - lat \* \* \* \* ki 72. ida - ai  
*The archer, the Goddess of* \* \* \* \* *my forces*

il - lik va iz \* \* \* \* as - ru šar - u - ti  
*preceded, and* \* \* \* \* *place of my kingdom,*

73. me - eh - rit umman [ya] iz - bat va  
*the front of my army took and*

74. u - sam - [kit] ga - ri ya 75. ti - bu - ut \* \* \*  
*destroyed my enemies. The stroke* \* \* \*

Assur Istar 76. va Ili rabati beli ya  
*Assur; Ishtar, and the great Gods my lords,*

77. sa ina e - [pis ta - ha - zu il - li] - ku  
*who in making [war], went to the*

ri - zu - ti 78. umman [ya U - ai - te - eh]  
*help of my army: Vaitech*

is - mu - u va 79. eli [ip - se - e - ti an - na - a - ti]  
*heard of, and over [these things]*

ip - luḥ va 80. ul - [tu Na - ba - ai - ti  
*feared, and from [Nabatea]*

81. u -se]-za- av -va ina tugul- ti Assur Sin Samas Vul  
*I] brought out, and in the service of Assur, Sin, Shamas, Vul,*

82. Bel Nabu Istar sa Ninua Il şar - rat Kit-mu- ri  
*Bel, Nebo, Ishtar of Nineveh the divine queen of Kitmuri,*

83. Istar sa Arba - il Ninip Nergal Nusku  
*Ishtar of Arbela, Ninip, Nergal and Nusku,*

84. \* \* \* \* \* uş - şu va u - ra - a su a - na Assur  
 \* \* \* \* \* *him, and sent him to Assyria.*

85. \* \* \* \* \* ya sa a - na ka - sad nakiri ya  
 \* \* \* \* \* *who to capture my enemies*

86. \* \* \* aḥ - ḥa - ru ina ki - bit Assur va Belat  
 \* \* \* *fought. By command of Assur and Beltis,*

87. ina iz - ḥu - ut - za(?) dan(?) \* \* \* sa zi - bit qati ya  
*with a mace(?) which was grasped by my hand,*

88. şeri mi - zi su ab - lu - us 89. ina du - uḥ  
*the flesh coming out of him, his son, in sight of*

(v. la - aḥ) (v. la - aḥ) eni su at - ta - di zir - ri - tu  
*his eyes I struck down.*

90. ul - li kalbi la ad - di su va 91. ina bab  
*With the dogs I did not place him, in the gate*

zi - it Sam - si qabal Ninua sa  
*of the rising sun, in the midst of Nineveh, which,*

Ni - rib - par - nak - ti - ad - na - a - ti na - bu - u zi - kar sa  
*Nirib-parnakti-adnati is called its name;*

93. u - sa - an - zir su si - ga - ru (v. ši - gar - ru)  
*I caused to keep him chained,*

94. a - na da - lal ta - us - ti Assur Istar va  
*to exalt the will of Assur, Ishtar and*

Ili rabati beli ya re - e - mu ar - si  
*the great Gods my lords. Favour I granted*

su va u - bal - liq nap - sat su ina  
*him, and saved his life. On*

ta - ay - ar - ti ya U - su - u sa ina  
*my return Usu, which by*

a - ħi tam - ti id - da - at su - bat su ak - su - ud (v. aksud)  
*the side of the sea has its place, I captured.*

98. nisi U - su - u sa a - na sanuti su - nu  
*The people of Usu, who to their prefects*

99. la ša - an - qu la i - nā - di - nu man - da - at - tu  
*were not reverent, and did not give the tribute.*


















*i - zi - zu    va   it - ti   umman   ya   e - pu - su   tahaz*  
*had   risen,   and   with   my   army   had   made   war.*

(v. 𐤅𐤓𐤕𐤕 𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕 𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕)      111.    𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕 𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕 𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕  
(v. ta - ha - zu)                      ina qabal tam - ha - ri  
*In the midst of battle,*

bal - du - uş - şu ina qati az - bat      112.    ina Ninua  
alive     in   hand   I   captured;                 in   Nineveh

alu bel - u - ti ya ma- sak (v. masak) su as - hu -ud  
*the city of my dominion his skin I tore off.*

CYLINDER B, COLUMN VII.

87.  88.   
 Ya - u - ta - ah ablu Ha-za- il sar  
*Yautah son of Hazael king of*

89.   
 as-su Ili su  
*for his Gods,*

sa abu ba - nu - u a is - lu - lu im - ɣar an - ni va  
*which the father my begetter had carried off, he prayed me, and*

90. 91.   
u - zal - la - a      sar - u - ti      su - ni      Ili      ra - ba - ti  
*submitted to my kingdom.*      *The names of the great Gods*

92.    u • sa - az - kir su-(u) va      A-tar-ša-ma-in  
         I made him swear by, and         Adarsamain

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 93. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵  
 u - tir va a-din su ar - ka -nu ina a- di - ya  
*I restored and gave him. Afterwards against my agreement*

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 94. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵  
 ih - di va da - ab - ti la iz - zur va iz - la - a  
*he sinned, and benefits did not regard, and threw off*

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 95. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵  
 niru bel - u - ti ya a - na sa - ha - al  
*the yoke of my dominion. To seek*

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 96. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵  
 sul - mi ya sepu su ip - ru - us va ik - la - a  
*my alliance his feet broke off, and he discontinued*

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 97. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵  
 ta - mar - ti nisi A - ri - bi it - ti su  
*the presents. The people of Arabia with him*


𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 98. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵  
 u - sa - pal - kit va ih - ta - nab - ba - tu  
*he caused to revolt, and carried away the*

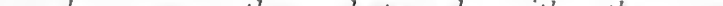
𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 99. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵  
 hu - bu - ut Hatti umman ya sa ina  
*plunder of Syria. My army which on the*

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 100. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵  
 me - sir mati su as - bu u - ma - he - e - ra  
*border of his country was stationed, I sent*

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵  
 zi - ru - us - su  
*against him;*

COLUMN VIII.

1.    
 abikta su-nu is - ku - nu nisi A - ri - bi  
*his overthrow they accomplished. The people of Arabia,*



2.   
 ma- la it - bu-u- ni u - ra - ši - bu ina kakki  
*all who came they destroyed with the sword,*

3. 𐤁𐤏𐤏𐤏 𐤁𐤏𐤏𐤏 𐤁𐤏𐤏𐤏 𐤁𐤏𐤏𐤏 𐤁𐤏𐤏𐤏 𐤁𐤏𐤏𐤏 𐤁𐤏𐤏𐤏 𐤁𐤏𐤏𐤏 𐤁𐤏𐤏𐤏 𐤁𐤏𐤏𐤏 𐤁𐤏𐤏𐤏 𐤁𐤏𐤏𐤏 𐤁𐤏𐤏𐤏 4. 𐤁𐤏𐤏𐤏 𐤁𐤏𐤏𐤏  
bit - zin zir - ta - ri mu - sa - bi su - nu kanu  
the tents, the pavilions, their dwellings, a fire

u - sa - hi - zu ip - ki - du a - na isati alpi  
*they raised and gave to the flames. Oxen,*

ze - e - ni      imiri      gam - mal - i      6. a - mi - lu - tu  
*sheep,*      *asses,*      *camels*      *and men,*

𐎠𐎡𐎢 𐎠𐎡𐎢 𐎠𐎡𐎢 < 𐎠𐎡 - 𐎠𐎡𐎢 𐎠𐎡𐎢 𐎠𐎡𐎢 7. 𐎠𐎡𐎢 𐎠𐎡𐎢 𐎠𐎡𐎢 𐎠𐎡𐎢  
 is - lu - lu - u - ni ina la mi - ni                      ši - hi - ip matu  
*they carried off without number.*                      *The sweeping of all the*







ka - la - mu a - na ši - hır - ti - su  
*country, through its extent*

8.   
um - da - (na) - al - lu - u a - na pat gin - ri sa  
*they collected through the whole of it.*

9.   
 gam - mal - i      kima    ze - e - ni      u - par - ri - iş  
*Camels    like    sheep                    I                    distributed,*



20. ru  
 \* \* \* \* \*  
 \* \* \* \* \*

21. Istar sa Ninua  
 \* \* \* \* \*  
 \* \* \* \* \* *Ishtar of Ninerch*

22. Ya-u- ta - ah ma- ru - us - tu  
 \* \* \* \* \*  
 \* \* \* \* \* *Yautah misfortune*

23. in - har su va e - dis- si su in - na - bit a - na  
 happened to him, and alone he fled to

24. Na - ba - ai - ti A - bi - ya - te - eh ablu  
*Nabatea. Abiyateh son of*

25. Te - he - ri a - na Ninua il - lik - av - va  
*Teheri, to Nineveh came and*

26. u - na - as - siq sepi ya a - de - e e - pis  
*kissed my feet. An agreement to make*

27. ardu - ti ya it - ti su as - kun ku - um  
*submission to me with him I made; instead of*

Ya - u- ta - ah ina aiumma as - kun su ana šar - u- ti  
*Yautah or any one, I appointed him to the kingdom.*

28. huraz eni aban pi gu - uḥ - lu  
*Gold, eyes of pi stone, guhlū,*

29. gam - mal - i imiri bit - ridu - ti  
*camels and stallions asses,*

« 𐎠𐎵 𐎠𐎵 𐎠𐎵 𐎠𐎵 𐎠𐎵 𐎠𐎵 30. 𐎠𐎵𐎵𐎵 𐎠𐎵𐎵  
 man - da - at - tu mat - ti sam - ma u - kin  
*tribute for every year I fixed*

𐎠𐎵𐎵𐎵 𐎠𐎵𐎵 𐎠𐎵 31. 𐎠𐎵𐎵𐎵 𐎠𐎵𐎵 𐎠𐎵𐎵 (𐎠𐎵𐎵𐎵) 𐎠𐎵𐎵𐎵  
 zir - us - su Am - mu - la - di - (in) šar  
*upon him. Ammuladin king of*

𐎠𐎵𐎵𐎵 𐎠𐎵𐎵𐎵 𐎠𐎵𐎵𐎵 𐎠𐎵𐎵𐎵 𐎠𐎵𐎵𐎵 𐎠𐎵𐎵𐎵 32. 𐎠𐎵𐎵𐎵 𐎠𐎵𐎵𐎵  
 Qa - ad - ri sa ki - ma sa - a - su (va) ik - ki - ru  
*Kedar, who like him also revolted*

𐎠𐎵𐎵𐎵 𐎠𐎵𐎵𐎵 𐎠𐎵𐎵𐎵 𐎠𐎵𐎵𐎵 𐎠𐎵𐎵𐎵 𐎠𐎵𐎵𐎵 𐎠𐎵𐎵𐎵 𐎠𐎵𐎵𐎵  
 iḥ - ta - nab - ba - tu ḥu - bu - ut šarri  
*and carried away the plunder of the kings of*

𐎠𐎵𐎵𐎵 𐎠𐎵𐎵𐎵 𐎠𐎵𐎵𐎵 33. 𐎠𐎵𐎵𐎵 𐎠𐎵𐎵𐎵 𐎠𐎵𐎵𐎵 𐎠𐎵𐎵𐎵  
 Ḫatti ina tugul - ti Assur Sin Samas  
*Syria; In the service of Assur, Sin, Shamash,*

𐎠𐎵𐎵𐎵 𐎠𐎵𐎵𐎵 𐎠𐎵𐎵𐎵 34. 𐎠𐎵𐎵𐎵 𐎠𐎵𐎵𐎵 𐎠𐎵𐎵𐎵 𐎠𐎵𐎵𐎵  
 Vul Bel Nabu Istar sa Ninua Il  
*Vul, Bel, Nebo, Ishtar of Nineveh the divine*

𐎠𐎵𐎵𐎵 𐎠𐎵𐎵𐎵 𐎠𐎵𐎵𐎵 𐎠𐎵𐎵𐎵 35. 𐎠𐎵𐎵𐎵 𐎠𐎵𐎵𐎵 𐎠𐎵𐎵𐎵 𐎠𐎵𐎵𐎵  
 šar - rat Kit - mu - ri Istar sa Arba - il Ninip  
*queen of Kitmuri, Ishtar of Arbela, Ninip,*

𐎠𐎵𐎵𐎵 𐎠𐎵𐎵𐎵 𐎠𐎵𐎵𐎵 36. 𐎠𐎵𐎵𐎵 𐎠𐎵𐎵𐎵 𐎠𐎵𐎵𐎵 𐎠𐎵𐎵𐎵  
 Nergal Nusku ina zi - kar sumi [ya sa] Assur  
*Nergal and Nusku; by the power of [my] name [which] Assur*

𐎠𐎵𐎵𐎵 𐎠𐎵𐎵𐎵 𐎠𐎵𐎵𐎵 37. 𐎠𐎵𐎵𐎵 [𐎠𐎵𐎵𐎵] 𐎠𐎵𐎵𐎵 𐎠𐎵𐎵𐎵 𐎠𐎵𐎵𐎵  
 u - sar - bu - u Ka - [ma] - az - ḥal - ta - a šar  
*had magnified, Kamazhalta(?) king of*

𐎠𐎵𐎵𐎵 𐎠𐎵𐎵𐎵 𐎠𐎵𐎵𐎵 38. 𐎠𐎵𐎵𐎵 𐎠𐎵𐎵𐎵 [𐎠𐎵𐎵𐎵 𐎠𐎵𐎵𐎵] 39. 𐎠𐎵𐎵𐎵  
 Ma - ha - a - ab ardu da - gil [pa - ni ya] ina  
*Moab, a tributary dependent on me, in the*

tahaz zin is - ku - na abikta su      Am - mu - la - di - (in)  
*battle field accomplished his overthrow.      Ammuladin*

ši - it - ti      nisi      su      sa      la      pa - an      da      \*      \*      \*      \*  
*and the rest of his people,      who from the face of      \*      \*      \*      \**

u - ni      u - zab - bit      ina      qati      qati      va      sepi      bi - ri - tu  
 \*      \*      *he captured in hand. His hands and feet in bonds of*

parzil      id - di      va      a - na      Ninua      a - di  
*iron he placed, and      to      Ninereh      to*

mah - ri      ya      u - se - bi - la      Na - ad - nu      şar  
*my presence he sent.      Nathan king of*

Na - ba - ai - ti      sa      a - sar      su      ru - u - qu  
*Nabatea,      whose place is remote,*

is - ma - a      da - na - an      Assur      Maruduk      sa  
*heard of the power of Assur and Merodach, who*

u - tag - gil - u      in - ni      sa      ma - ti - ma      a - na  
*protect      me:      who in times past to the*

şarri      abi      yā      a - mir      su      la      is - pu - ra  
*kings my fathers      his envoy did not send,*

la      is - a - lū      su - lum      şaru - ti      su - un      e - nin - na  
*and did not seek alliance with their kingdom.      Again*

ya - a - ti                      a - mir su sa    sul - mi                      is - pu - rav - va  
*to me his envoy for alliance he sent; and*

u - na - as - siq    sepi    ya                      a - na    sa - kan a - de - e  
*kissed my feet. To establish agreement and*

su - lun - me - e    e - pis ardu - ti    ya                      u - za - na - al - la - a  
*alliance, and make submission to me, he submitted to*

be - lu - u - ti                      a - na - ku    ha - dis ap - pa - lis    su va  
*my dominion. I gladly received him, and*

pa - ni    ya                      damqati                      eli    su    as - kun  
*before me favours on him conferred,*

belat    man - da - at - tu    san - ti    sam - ma  
*taxes and tribute for every year*

u - kin    zir - us - su  
*I fired upon him.*

K, 2802, COLUMN II. VARIANT PASSAGE FOR CYLINDER B,  
 COLUMN VIII, LINES 31 TO 52.

a. Am - mu - la - di - in                      šar                      Qa - ad - ri  
*Ammuladin king of Kedar,*

b. sa    ki - ma    sa - a - su    va    ik - ki - ru  
*who like him also revolted;*

c. ih - ta - nab - ba - tu lu - bu - ut Hatti  
*carried away the spoil of Syria,*

d. ardi da - gil pa - ni ya e. sa tu - sak - ni - sa  
*the tributaries dependent on me, whom thou hast subdued*

a - na niri ya f. ina zi - kar sumi ya sa Assur  
*to my yoke. By the power of my name which Assur*

u - sar - bu - u g. Am - mu - la - di - in ši - it - ti  
*had magnified, Ammuladin and the rest of*

nisi su h. sa la pa - an da \* \* \* \* nab - tu - u - ni  
*his people, who from the face of the \* \* \* \* fled,*

i. u - zab - bit ina qati j. qati va niri bi - ri - tu parzil  
*I captured in hand. Hand and foot in bonds of iron*

ad - di su va k. u - ra - a a - na Assur  
*I placed him, and sent to Assyria.*

l. A - di - ya šar - rat m. A - ri - bi di - ik - ta  
*Adiya queen of Arabia, [her] numerous*

[sa] ma - ha - aš - šu ad - duk n. zir - ta - re - e sa  
*[sa] fighting men I slew, her pavilions*

in a isati ak - mu o. sa - a - sa bal - du uš - sa ina  
*in the fire I burned, her abode*

𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶 p. 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 [𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶] 𐎶𐎶𐎶  
 qati az - bat it - ti hu - bu - ut [A - ri - bi as] - si  
*hand I captured, and with the spoil of [Arabia] I carried*

𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 q. 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶  
 a - na Assur Na - ad - nu šar Na - ba - ai - ti  
*to Assyria. Nathan king of Nabatea,*

r. 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 s. 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶  
 sa a - sar su ru - u - qu is - me - e' va  
*whose place was remote; heard also of*

𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 t. 𐎶𐎶𐎶  
 da - na - an Assur sa u - tag - gil an - ni sa  
*the power of Assur who protected me: who*

𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶  
 ma - te - e - ma a - na šarri abi ya  
*in time past to the kings my fathers,*

u. 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 v. 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶  
 a - mir su la is - pu - ru la is - a - lu su - lum  
*his envoy did not send, and did not seek alliance*

𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 w. 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶  
 šaru - ti su - un ul - tu U - ai - te - eh šar  
*with their kingdom. On Vaiteh king of*

𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 x. 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶  
 A - ri - bi de - en su tu - sa - an - nu tag - bu - u  
*Arabia, his sentence thou didst pronounce, thou didst*

𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 y. 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶  
 ša - pa - aḥ mati su a - na Na - ba - ai - ti  
*command to waste his country. To Nabatea*

𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 z. 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶  
 in - nab - tu il - li - ku ma - ḥar Na - ad - nu  
*he fled, and came before Nathan.*



c. ah - ta - lu - ub kisti d. sa zu - lul  
*I passed through the forests,* *of which their shadow*

si - na rap - su e. bi - rit izi rabati gi - iz - zu  
*was vast,* *bounded by trees great and strong,*

f. \* \* \* \* \* mur - ra - nu iz - id - di - tu  
*and vines(?)* *a road of mighty wood.*

g. e - te - ti - iq ki - rib Vas h. a - sar zu - um - mi  
*I went to the midst of Vas,* *a place arid and*

dan - dan - ti i. sa iz - zur same imiri zini  
*very difficult,* *where the birds of heaven and wild asses*

\* \* \* \* \* j. ma - la ba - su - u ina lib - bi k. 100 kas - pu  
*are all there is in it.* *100 kaspu*

qaq - qa - ru ultu Ninua l. alu na - ram Is - tar  
*of ground from Nineveh,* *the city the delight of Ishtar*

hi - rat Bel m. zir U - ai - te - eh sar  
*wife of Bel;* *against Vaitech king of*

A - ri - bi n. ar - de - e va al - lik  
*Arabia* *I marched and went.*

EXTRACT FROM K, 2802, COLUMN III. VARIANT FOR CYLINDER A,  
COLUMN VIII, LINES 95 TO 97.

a. di - ik - tu ina lib I - şa - ain - mi - ih  
*The fighting men among the Isammih,*

b. halu(?) A - tar - sa - ma - ai - in va  
*the servants of Adarsamain, and the*

Na - ba - ai - ta - ai i - du - ku nisi, &c.  
*Nabateans they slew. People, &c.*

EPIGRAPHS ON K, 3096.

a. a - na - ku Assur-bani-pal şar Assur sa ina ki - bit  
*I am Assurbanipal king of Assyria, who by command*

Ili rabati [beli su] b. im - zu - u ma - la  
*of the great Gods [his lords], has gratified all*

lib - bi su it - ti Am - mu - la \* \* \* \* \*  
*his heart. With Ammuladin \* \* \* \* \**

c. a - na Ninua alu belu - ti ya ha - dis \* \* \* \* \*  
*to Nineveh the city of my dominion, joyfully \* \* \* \* \**

d. A - na - ku Assur-bani-pal şar Assur A - di - ya - a  
*I Assurbanipal king of Assyria, Adiya*

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶 [𐎶𐎶- 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶] e. 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶  
 şar - [rat A - ri - bi] it - ti 𐎶𐎶 - ub - ti sa  
 queen [of Arabia] with her spoil,

𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶  
 ina ki - bit Assur va Istar ik -su -du \* \* \* \* \*  
 by command of Assur and Ishtar I captured \* \* \* \* \*

f. 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶  
 A - di - ya - a şar - rat A - ri - bi di - ik - ta  
 Adiya queen of Arabia, her numerous

[𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶] g. 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶  
 [sa ma - ha - aş - şu ad - duk] zir - ta - re - e sa  
 fighting men I slew, her pavilions in the

𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶  
 ina isati ak - mu sa - a - sa bal - [du - uş - şa  
 fire I burned, her alive

𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶  
 ina qati az - bat  
 in hand I captured.



(At the bottom of the tablet occurs the following notice of  
 the place of these Epigraphs.)



𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶  
 sa ina eli iguri sa Bit - sa \* \* \*  
 which were upon the chamber-walls of Bitsa \* \* \*


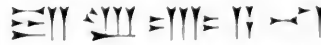
K, 562.




1. 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶  
 A - na şar matati be - eli ya  
 To the king of the earth, my lord,



2. 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶  
 arad ka  
 thy servant



 3.   
 Bel - zikir - esir                      Bel va Maruduk immi  
*Belzikiresir.                      Bel and Merodach, length*



 4.   
 araku                      sanat an - na - i                      da - ra - a - ti  
*of days,                      years                      everlasting,*



5.  6.   
 iz-sa-pa i - sar - tu                      kuzzu                      da - ru - u a - na  
*a sceptre of justice, and an everlasting throne, to the*



 7.  8.   
 sar matati                      be-eli ya lit - ki - nu                      a - na eli sa  
*king of the earth, my lord, may they establish.                      Concerning that of*



 9.   
 sar be - eli a                      de - e - mi is - kun an - ni  
*which the king my lord                      gave                      directions                      to                      me*



10.  11.   
 um - na de - em sa                      Ar - a - bi                      ma - la  
*thus: "The news of the Arabians,                      all*



 12.   
 ta - sim - mu - u                      sapra a - lak - ti si - i  
*thou                      hearest,                      send the account of it."*

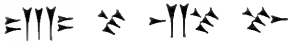
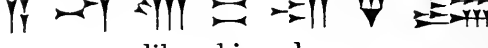
13.  14.   
 ul - tu                      Ni - ba - ha - a - ti                      ki - i  
*From                      the                      Nabateans                      there is*



 15.   
 hir - za - a                      Ai - ka - ma - ru                      ablu su sa  
*news;                      Aikamaru                      son of*

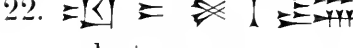
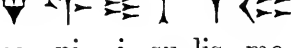
 16.   
 Am - mi - ha - ta - ah                      Vas - ha - ai - a - na  
*Ammihatah                      the Vasite,*

 17.   
 eli su-nu ki - i it - bu - u zabi id - duk  
*against them had come; the men he slew*

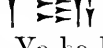
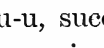
18.  19.   
 va ih - ta - bat edu ina lib - bi su-nu ki - i  
*and plundered. One in the midst of them then*

 20.   
 u - se - zi - bu a - na lib - bi alu sa šar  
*they saved; to the midst of the city of the king*

 21.   
 i - tur - ba a - du - u a - na šar be - eli ya  
*he entered. Now to the king my lord*

22.  23.   
 al - tap - ras - su šar sa pi - i su lis - me  
*I send him; the king, of his mouth may he hear.*

The events recorded in this division of the reign of Assurbanipal stretch over a considerable time. In Cylinder B we are told that the father of Assurbanipal had carried off the Gods of the Arabian monarch, and that Yauteh, or Vaiteh, king of Arabia, came to Assurbanipal and asked for the restoration of these idols. A precisely similar story is related in the annals of Esarhaddon, the father of Assurbanipal; and I am of opinion that the compiler of Cylinder B transferred this account to Assurbanipal's reign.

Vaiteh, whose name is also written  Ya-ha-ta-a, and  Ya-ha-lu-u, succeeded to the Arabian crown in the time of Esarhaddon, and remained subject to Assyria until the revolt of Saulmugina, when he joined in the conspiracy, and raised two armies; one he sent into Palestine, and the other to help the Babylonians. The Arabians who invaded Palestine marched as far as Zobah; when they were defeated by the Assyrian troops and gradually driven out of the country. About

the same time an Arabian chief, Ammuladin, called king of Kedar, invaded Moab in company with Adiya queen of Arabia. Their forces were met by Kamas(?)-halta king of Moab, a tributary of Assyria, who defeated them, and sent Ammuladin and Adiya in chains to Nineveh. Vaiteh, after these reverses, fled to Nabathea, and was delivered up to Assyria, probably by Nathan king of that country, who sent an envoy to make submission to Assurbanipal. The Arabian army which was sent to Babylon, was besieged in that city by the Assyrians; and, attempting to make a sortie, was a second time defeated and driven within the walls. Abiyateh and Aimu the Arabian generals, then submitted to Assurbanipal, and that monarch sent Abiyateh to Arabia, to take the crown as tributary of Assyria. Meanwhile, after the flight of Vaiteh, the Arabians raised to the throne his nephew, who bore the same name (Vaiteh) as himself. Vaiteh II and Abiyateh afterwards joined in alliance with Nathan king of Nabathea, and they all commenced hostilities against Assyria. To chastise them, Assurbanipal organised an expedition into Arabia. It is difficult to determine the position of the towns captured by the Assyrians in this expedition, but it is not probable that they penetrated far into the desert. Their own statement is, that they went a distance of 100 kaspu (700 English miles) from Nineveh. On the return of the army from Arabia, Assurbanipal punished the cities of Akko and Usu (on the coast of Palestine) for revolt. The dispatch, K, 562, probably belongs to a later period in the history, but it is inserted here on account of its reference to Arabia.

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## PART XIII.


*The Final Triumph over Elam.*

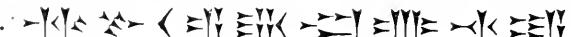

## TEXTS.

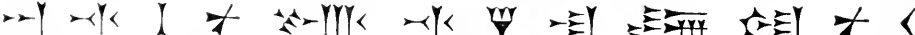
The texts of this division of the Annals are Cylinder A, col. ix, line 113, to col. x, line 21; and the Memorial Slab published in Cuneif. Inscrip., Vol. II, p. 66.

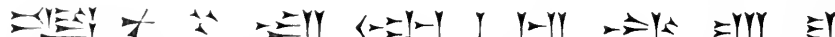
## CYLINDER A, COLUMN IX.

113. 
  
Um -man- al - das      şar      Elam
   
*Ummanaldas      king      of      Elam,*

114. 
  
sa    ul - tu    ul - la    Assur va    Istar    beli    ya
   
*whom    from    of    old    Assur and Ishtar    my    lords*

115.       116. 
  
ig - bu - u    e - pis ardu - u - ti    ya      ina ki - bit
   
*had commanded to make submission to me;      by command*


  
llu - ti    su - nu    zir - ti    sa    la    in - nin - nu - u
   
*of    their    great    divinity    who    were    unchanged,*

117. 
  
arka - nu mat    şu    eli    su    ip - pal - kit    va
   
*afterwards    his    country    against    him    revolted,    and*









(v. 𐎶 𐎶) 6. 𐎶𐎶 (𐎶𐎶) < 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 < 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶  
 (v. matati) italliku - u va gab- ri la isu-u ina im - mi su  
*I have marched, and a rival I have not. In those days*

𐎶𐎶𐎶 (v. 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶) 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 (v. 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶) 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶  
 kişal (v. ki - şal) bit Istar (v. Istar) belat ya  
*the altar of the house of Ishtar my lady,*

𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 (v. 𐎶𐎶) 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 <<< 𐎶𐎶 7. 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶  
 ina pe - e (v. i) - li es - ki si - kit - ta su  
*of marble I carved its sculpture;*

𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 (v. 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶) 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶  
 u - rab - bi a - na sat (v. sa - at) - ti Belat  
*I set it up to please Beltis.*

𐎶𐎶𐎶 (v. 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶) 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 8. 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶  
 kişal (v. ki - şal) su-a-tu pan ma- şar si uk - ki  
*That altar before its sanctuary(?) I placed.*

(v. 𐎶𐎶𐎶) 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 (v. 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶) 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶  
 (v. ka) ya - a - ti (v. ya - a - te) Assur-bani - pal  
*To me, Assurbanipal,*

(v. 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶) 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶  
 (v. Assur-bani - pal) pa-laḥ Ilu - u - ti ki rab - ti  
*worshipping thy great divinity,*

𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 (v. 𐎶𐎶) 𐎶𐎶𐎶 (v. 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶) 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 9. 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶  
 ba-laḥ (v. balaḥ) im - mi (v. immi) araki ḡabu  
 [give] health, long days, and sound

𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶  
 lib - bi ki - bi - is va ittaliku Bit - mas - masu  
*heart, worshipping and going to Bitmasmasu,*

𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶  
 lu - lab - bi - ra sepa - ai  
*may my feet grow old.*

The principal political event mentioned in this division is the capture of Ummanaldas king of Elam. After the destruction of Shushan, Ummanaldas remained a fugitive in the mountains, while Assurbanipal held possession of the country. He ultimately fell into the hands of the Assyrians, and was sent to Nineveh, at which place Tammarithu and Pahe his rivals, and Vaiteh king of Arabia, were then in captivity. According to Cylinder A\* these four captive kings were fastened to the yoke of the royal chariot, and drew Assurbanipal to the gate of the temple of Nineveh. Similar barbarous triumphs are related of other conquerors of antiquity.

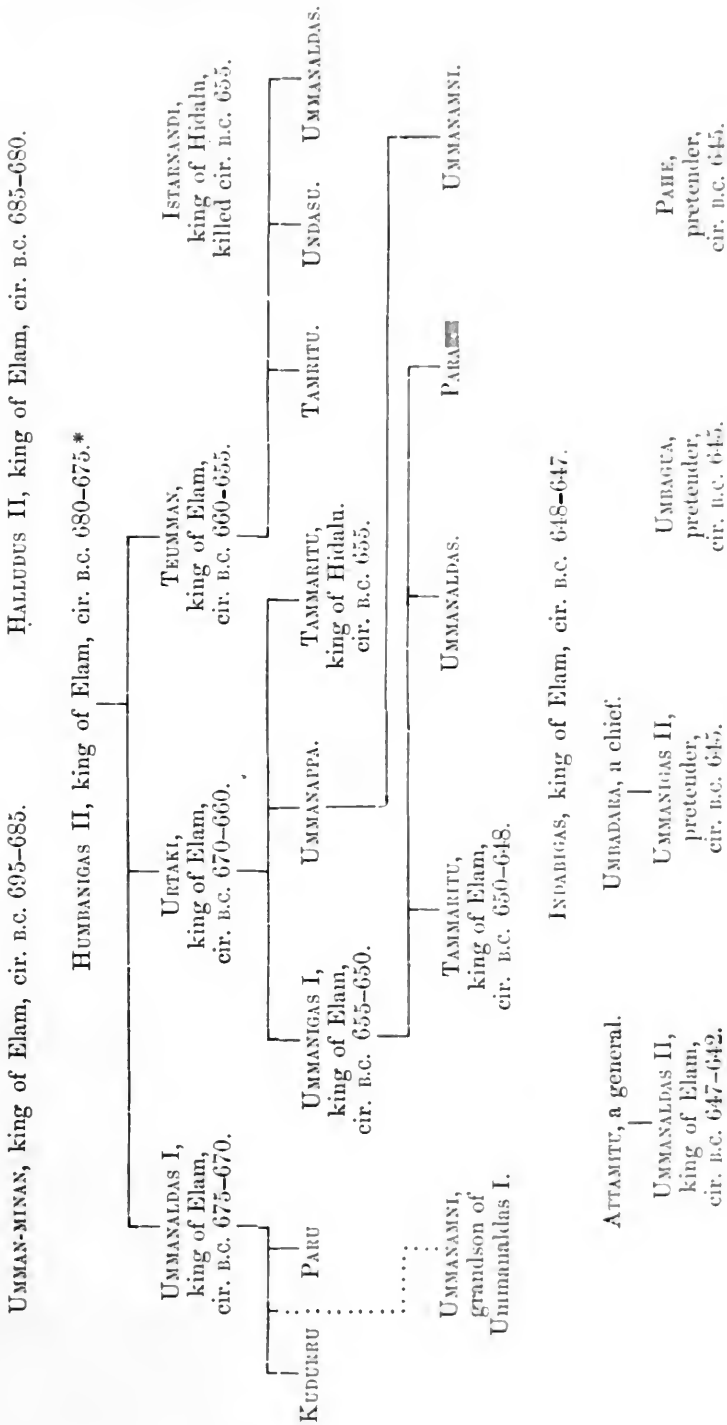
I have supposed, from a fragment of an unpublished tablet, that Assurbanipal afterwards restored Ummanaldas, and that the Elamite monarch revolted, and was again conquered by Assurbanipal; but this is very doubtful.

As this division closes the campaigns of Assurbanipal, I here give a table of the later royal families of Elam, so far as we know them from the inscriptions.

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\* The Memorial Slab gives the four Elamite kings, Ummanigas, Tammarithu, Pahe and Ummanaldas, as the captives who were yoked to the chariot; but Ummanigas had been dead some years, so that Cylinder A must be more correct, in giving Tammarithu, Pahe and Ummanaldas the Elamites, and Vaiteh the Arabian.

TABLE OF THE LATER ELAMITE ROYAL FAMILIES.



\* This Monarch is doubtful.

## PART XIV.

*The Buildings of Assurbanipal.*

## TEXTS.

The most perfect texts relating to Assurbanipal's buildings are Cylinder A, col. x, lines 31 to 110, and an Extract from col. x, Cylinder D. There are several other texts, but they are in a very mutilated condition.

## CYLINDER A, COLUMN 10.

31. [𐎶] I 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 < 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 [𐎶𐎶]  
 [As]-su Bit - rid - u - ti tim - ne - e e - kal [sa  
*Now Bitriduti, the private(?) palace of*

𐎶𐎶𐎶 (𐎶𐎶) 32. [𐎶𐎶] 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶  
 Ninua] [alu] zi - i - ru na - ram Is -tar  
*Nineveh, the grand city, the delight of Ishtar;*

33. 𐎶𐎶 I 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶  
 sa Sin - ahi - irba šar Assur abu abi  
*which Sennacherib king of Assyria, the grandfather*

𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 34. [𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶] I 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 I  
 bani ya [e - pu - su] a - na mu - sab šaru - ti su  
*my beggetter built for his royal seat;*

35. [𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 < 𐎶𐎶𐎶] 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶  
 [Bit - rid - u - ti] su - a - tu ina immi ya - a - ti  
*that Bitriduti in my days*

36. [la - ba - ri - is] il - lik e - na - ha igari su  
 became old, and its chamber-walls decayed.

37. a - na - ku Assur-bani-pal [sar] rab - u sar dan - nu  
 I, Assurbanipal, the great king, the powerful king,

38. sar kis - [sa - ti sar Assur] sar kip - rat  
 king of nations, king of Assyria, king of the four

39. arba - te as-su ki - rib Bit - [rid - u - ti] su - a - tu  
 regions, within that Bitriduti

40. ar - ba - a Assur Sin Samas Vul Bel  
 grew up. Assur, Sin, Shamash, Vul, Bel,

Nabu Istar sa Ninua Il - sar - rat Kit - mu - ri  
 Nebo, Ishtar of Nineveh the divine queen of Kitmuri,

41. Istar sa Arba - il Ninip Nergal Nusku  
 Ishtar of Arbela, Ninip, Nergal and Nusku,

42. \* \* \* \* \* abil sar - u \* \* \* \* \*  
 \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \*

44. zu - lul su-nu dabu \* \* \* sa kal - la me \* \* \*  
 their good protection, \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \*

45. eli ya [is - ku-nu] ultu ina kuzzu abi bani ya  
 over me [fixed], when on the throne of the father my begetter



 mas-gan si - kit - ti su  
*the building its sculpture*

56.  pi - ti - ig (v. tig)  
\* \* \* \*  
\* \* \* \* *the work*










ud- la [-a su u] -mal- li      57. la pa-an es- re - e  
of the mound I completed.      Before the temples of

Ili rabati beli ya ap-luh \* \* \* \* ud-la-a  
*the great Gods my lords I worshipped. \* \* \* Of that*










su - a - tu      59.      si - kit - [ti su]      ul - u - sak - ki  
mound      its sculpture(?)      I did not cut down

[re - e - şu]      60.      ina arah dabu im - mi se-me- e  
its top.      In a good month and a prosperous day,

(v. 𐎧 𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎴) 𐎧𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎴 𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎴 𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎴 𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎴 𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎴 61. 𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎴 𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎴 𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎴  
(v. sime) zir ud - la [-a su - a - tu] ussi su ad - di  
upon that mound its foundation I placed,









62. 




*I fixed its brickwork.*                      *In biris and*

ka - mis pi su ab \* \* \* \*

*kamis its face I* \* \* \* \*

63. 





am - ɣa - za


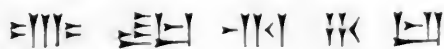
*I divided*


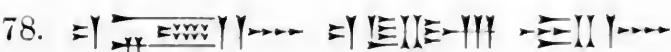
64.          
 sal-su \* \* \* \*      ina      zu - um - bi - i      Elam  
*in three(?)* \* \* \*      *in*      *chariots*      *of*      *Elam,*



65.   
sa ina ki - bit Ili rabati beli ya  
*which by command of the great Gods my lords*

66. as - lu - la    a - na    e - pis    Bit - ridu - u - ti    su - a - tu  
I carried off; to make that Bitriduti,
67. nisi    mati ya ina lib - bi i - zab - bi - tu    libni    su  
the people of my country in the midst, took its bricks.
68. şarri    A- ri - bi sa ina a - di - ya    ih - du - u  
The kings of Arabia who against my agreement sinned
69. sa ina qabal tam - ha - ri    bal - [du] - uş - şu - un  
whom in the midst of battle alive I had
- = u - zab - bi - tu [ina qati]      70. a - na - e - pis  
captured [in hand],                  to make
- Bit - ridu - u - ti    su - a - tu    iz - al - lu mus - sik - ku  
that Bitriduti                          heavy burdens
- [u - sa - as - si su - nu - ti va]      72. u - sa - əz - bi - [tu]  
[I caused them to carry, and]         I caused them to take
- \* \* \* \*      73. la - bi - in    libni    su \* \* \* \*  
building its brickwork \* \* \* \*
74. ina e - li - li nin - gu - ti ub \* \* \*      75. ina  
with dancing(?) and music \* \* \* \* with
- I hidati ri - sa - a - ti ul - tu [ussi su a - di  
joy and shouting, from [its foundation to



 76.   
 gab - lu - bi su] ar - zip eli sa maḥ - ri  
 its roof] I built. More than before

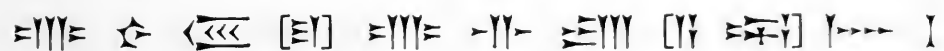
 77.   
 su \* \* \* \* \* u - ṣar - ri - ḥa ip  
 \* \* \* \* \* I extended

 78.   
 \* \* \* \* \* gusuri erini zirati  
 \* \* \* \* \* beams and great planks


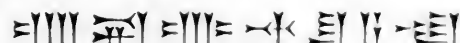
 79.   
 ultu Ṣi - ra - ra Lab - na - na u - sat - ri - [za  
 from Sirara and Lebanon, I fixed

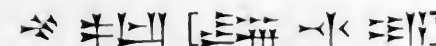
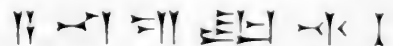
 80.   
 e] - li su dalti li - ya - a - ri sa  
 over it. Doors of forest trees,

 81.   
 [e - ri - ṣi - ] na ḍabu mi - ṣir kīpar  
 their wood excellent, a covering of copper

   
 u - rak - kis [va] u - rat - ta - [a bab] - i su  
 I spread over, and hung in its gates.

82.  83.   
 tim - mi zirati eru \* \* \* \* \* ḥi - it - ti  
 Great columns of bronze \* \* \* \* \* at the sides

 84.   
 babi \* \* \* \* \* Bit - rid - u - ti su - a - tu  
 of the gates \* \* \* \* \* That Bitriduti,

 85.   
 mu - sab [ṣaru - ti ya] a - na ṣi - ḥir - ti su  
 my royal seat, the whole of it I

86. u - sak - lil lu - le - e u - mal (v. ma - al) - li  
*finished, entirely I completed.*

87. kiri puluq sa şa - şa - hi \* \* a - na mul - ta - u - ti  
*Plantations choice, \* \* \* \* \* for the glory of*

88. şaru - ti [ya] az - qu - pa i - ta - a - te - e - su  
*my kingdom I planted like walls.*

(v. i - ta - a - te - es) 89. niqi ur - ri - ih - ti  
*Sacrifices and libations precious*

90. aq - qa - a a - na Ili beli ya ina hidati  
*I poured out to the Gods my lords. With joy and*

91. ri - sa - a - ti u - sar - ri su e - ru - ub ki - rib  
*shouting I completed it, I entered into*

92. su ina za - rat tak - ne - e a - na arku im - mi (v. immi)  
*it in a state palatium(?). To after days,*

93. ina şarri abli ya sa Assur va Istar a - na  
*among the kings my sons, whomever Assur and Ishtar to the*

94. be - lut mati va nisi i - nam - bu - u  
*dominion of the country and people shall proclaim*

95. zi - kir su e - nu va Bit - ridu - u - ti su - a - tu  
*his name; when this Bitriduti becomes*

96. i - lab - bi - ru (-u) va in - na - hu an - hu - us su  
old and decays, its decay he

97. lu - ud - dis mu - şar - u şı - dır sumi ya abi ya  
shall repair, the inscription written of my name my father's and

98. abu abi ya ziru da - ru - u sa \* \* \* \*  
my grandfather's, the remote descendant who \* \* \* \*

99. le (-e) - mur va kişal lab - su - us \* \* niqi akki  
shall see, and an altar shall raise, sacrifice and libations shall pour out,

100. it - ti mu - şar - e şı - dır sumi su lis - kun  
and with the inscription written of his name shall place;

101. Ili rabati ma - la mu - şar - e an - ne - e sađ - ru  
the great Gods all in this inscription named,

102. ki - ma (v. kima) ya - a - ti va lis ru - ku - us  
like me also, shall establish to him









103. da - na - nu va li - i - tu 104. sa  
power and glory. Whoever











105. mu - şar - u şı - dır sumi ya abi ya abu abi ya  
the inscription written of my name, my father's and my grandfather's,











106. ib - ba - tu it - ti mu - şar - i su la  
destroys, and with his inscription does not

























j.    k. [   I  ]  
 \* \* \* sad-du \* \* \* [ul - tu ussi su a - di]  
 \* \* \* \* \* from its foundation












   I      l.    
 gab-lu - be - e su ar - zip u - sak - lil eli  
 to its summit I built, I completed. Beyond












       m.     
 im-mi pa - ni u - dan - nin tim - me - en su mu - şar - u  
 the former days I strengthened its foundation, an inscription






           
 si - dir sumi ya va ta - us - ti qar - ra - du - ti ya  
 written of my name and an account of my victories,

n.            
 sa ina tu - gul - ti Assur Sin Samas Bel Nabu  
 by which in the service of Assur, Sin, Shamas, Bel, Nabu,

o.            
 Istar sa Ninua Istar sa Arba - il Ninip  
 Ishtar of Nineveh, Ishtar of Arbela, Ninip,

   p.          
 Nusku Nergal ina matati at - tal - la - ku as - ku - nu  
 Nusku and Nergal, in the countries I had marched through I had

    q.         
 da - na - nu va li - i - tu as - dur va a - na  
 established power and glory; I wrote, and to

     &c.  
 ah - rat im - mi e - zib, &c.  
 after days I left, &c.

Bitriduti, which was probably a name for the harem of the king, is the northern palace at Kouyunjik, from which the fragments of

Cylinder A and its duplicates were brought. Unfortunately all the texts relating to the buildings of Assurbanipal are very mutilated, and most of them are not worth publishing. Besides those given here, the two principal texts are—the first column of Cylinder C, published in a mutilated form in *Cuneif. Inscript.*, Vol. III, page 27 (since the publication of these fragments, I have completed a considerable part of the text from duplicates); and the last part of K, 2675, which gives the rebuilding of the temple of the moon at Harrau.

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*Later Notices of his Reign, and Sketch of the Chronology.*

Only one historical point of any importance results from these fragmentary notices. It appears from 48.11-4.282, that the Assyrians still retained possession of Babylonia after the death of Assurbanipal. The chronology of the reign of Assurbanipal is imperfect, from two causes—first, the fragmentary state of that part of the eponym canon which refers to this reign; and second, because the arrangement of the historical inscriptions of Assurbanipal appears to be geographical rather than chronological. The eponym canon, which is perfect from the reign of Tugulti Ninip II to the third eponym in the reign of Assurbanipal, there breaks off, and there is more or less uncertainty about all the names and fragments below this date.

The fragments of the eponym canon belonging to the reign of Assurbanipal, are as follows:—

a. Part of Canon 1 (restored), the dates attached to these names are satisfactorily established—

𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤𐎥𐎦𐎧𐎨𐎩𐎪𐎫𐎬𐎭𐎮𐎯𐎰𐎱𐎲𐎳𐎴𐎵𐎶𐎷𐎸𐎹𐎺𐎻𐎼𐎽𐎾𐎿𐏀𐏁𐏂𐏃𐏄𐏅𐏆𐏇𐏈𐏉𐏊𐏋𐏌𐏍𐏎𐏏𐏐𐏑𐏒𐏓𐏔𐏕𐏖𐏗𐏘𐏙𐏚𐏛𐏜𐏝𐏞𐏟𐏠𐏡𐏢𐏣𐏤𐏥𐏦𐏧𐏨𐏩𐏪𐏫𐏬𐏭𐏮𐏯𐏰𐏱𐏲𐏳𐏴𐏵𐏶𐏷𐏸𐏹𐏺𐏻𐏼𐏽𐏾𐏿𐐀𐐁𐐂𐐃𐐄𐐅𐐆𐐇𐐈𐐉𐐊𐐋𐐌𐐍𐐎𐐏𐐐𐐑𐐒𐐓𐐔𐐕𐐖𐐗𐐘𐐙𐐚𐐛𐐜𐐝𐐞𐐟𐐠𐐡𐐢𐐣𐐤𐐥𐐦𐐧𐐨𐐩𐐪𐐫𐐬𐐭𐐮𐐯𐐰𐐱𐐲𐐳𐐴𐐵𐐶𐐷𐐸𐐹𐐺𐐻𐐼𐐽𐐾𐐿𐑀𐑁𐑂𐑃𐑄𐑅𐑆𐑇𐑈𐑉𐑊𐑋𐑌𐑍𐑎𐑏𐑐𐑑𐑒𐑓𐑔𐑕𐑖𐑗𐑘𐑙𐑚𐑛𐑜𐑝𐑞𐑟𐑠𐑡𐑢𐑣𐑤𐑥𐑦𐑧𐑨𐑩𐑪𐑫𐑬𐑭𐑮𐑯𐑰𐑱𐑲𐑳𐑴𐑵𐑶𐑷𐑸𐑹𐑺𐑻𐑼𐑽𐑾𐑿𐒀𐒁𐒂𐒃𐒄𐒅𐒆𐒇𐒈𐒉𐒊𐒋𐒌𐒍𐒎𐒏𐒐𐒑𐒒𐒓𐒔𐒕𐒖𐒗𐒘𐒙𐒚𐒛𐒜𐒝𐒞𐒟𐒠𐒡𐒢𐒣𐒤𐒥𐒦𐒧𐒨𐒩𐒪𐒫𐒬𐒭𐒮𐒯𐒰𐒱𐒲𐒳𐒴𐒵𐒶𐒷𐒸𐒹𐒺𐒻𐒼𐒽𐒾𐒿𐓀𐓁𐓂𐓃𐓄𐓅𐓆𐓇𐓈𐓉𐓊𐓋𐓌𐓍𐓎𐓏𐓐𐓑𐓒𐓓𐓔𐓕𐓖𐓗𐓘𐓙𐓚𐓛𐓜𐓝𐓞𐓟𐓠𐓡𐓢𐓣𐓤𐓥𐓦𐓧𐓨𐓩𐓪𐓫𐓬𐓭𐓮𐓯𐓰𐓱𐓲𐓳𐓴𐓵𐓶𐓷𐓸𐓹𐓺𐓻𐓼𐓽𐓾𐓿𐔀𐔁𐔂𐔃𐔄𐔅𐔆𐔇𐔈𐔉𐔊𐔋𐔌𐔍𐔎𐔏𐔐𐔑𐔒𐔓𐔔𐔕𐔖𐔗𐔘𐔙𐔚𐔛𐔜𐔝𐔞𐔟𐔠𐔡𐔢𐔣𐔤𐔥𐔦𐔧𐔨𐔩𐔪𐔫𐔬𐔭𐔮𐔯𐔰𐔱𐔲𐔳𐔴𐔵𐔶𐔷𐔸𐔹𐔺𐔻𐔼𐔽𐔾𐔿𐕀𐕁𐕂𐕃𐕄𐕅𐕆𐕇𐕈𐕉𐕊𐕋𐕌𐕍𐕎𐕏𐕐𐕑𐕒𐕓𐕔𐕕𐕖𐕗𐕘𐕙𐕚𐕛𐕜𐕝𐕞𐕟𐕠𐕡𐕢𐕣𐕤𐕥𐕦𐕧𐕨𐕩𐕪𐕫𐕬𐕭𐕮𐕯𐕰𐕱𐕲𐕳𐕴𐕵𐕶𐕷𐕸𐕹𐕺𐕻𐕼𐕽𐕾𐕿𐖀𐖁𐖂𐖃𐖄𐖅𐖆𐖇𐖈𐖉𐖊𐖋𐖌𐖍𐖎𐖏𐖐𐖑𐖒𐖓𐖔𐖕𐖖𐖗𐖘𐖙𐖚𐖛𐖜𐖝𐖞𐖟𐖠𐖡𐖢𐖣𐖤𐖥𐖦𐖧𐖨𐖩𐖪𐖫𐖬𐖭𐖮𐖯𐖰𐖱𐖲𐖳𐖴𐖵𐖶𐖷𐖸𐖹𐖺𐖻𐖼𐖽𐖾𐖿𐗀𐗁𐗂𐗃𐗄𐗅𐗆𐗇𐗈𐗉𐗊𐗋𐗌𐗍𐗎𐗏𐗐𐗑𐗒𐗓𐗔𐗕𐗖𐗗𐗘𐗙𐗚𐗛𐗜𐗝𐗞𐗟𐗠𐗡𐗢𐗣𐗤𐗥𐗦𐗧𐗨𐗩𐗪𐗫𐗬𐗭𐗮𐗯𐗰𐗱𐗲𐗳𐗴𐗵𐗶𐗷𐗸𐗹𐗺𐗻𐗼𐗽𐗾𐗿𐘀𐘁𐘂𐘃𐘄𐘅𐘆𐘇𐘈𐘉𐘊𐘋𐘌𐘍𐘎𐘏𐘐𐘑𐘒𐘓𐘔𐘕𐘖𐘗𐘘𐘙𐘚𐘛𐘜𐘝𐘞𐘟𐘠𐘡𐘢𐘣𐘤𐘥𐘦𐘧𐘨𐘩𐘪𐘫𐘬𐘭𐘮𐘯𐘰𐘱𐘲𐘳𐘴𐘵𐘶𐘷𐘸𐘹𐘺𐘻𐘼𐘽𐘾𐘿𐙀𐙁𐙂𐙃𐙄𐙅𐙆𐙇𐙈𐙉𐙊𐙋𐙌𐙍𐙎𐙏𐙐𐙑𐙒𐙓𐙔𐙕𐙖𐙗𐙘𐙙𐙚𐙛𐙜𐙝𐙞𐙟𐙠𐙡𐙢𐙣𐙤𐙥𐙦𐙧𐙨𐙩𐙪𐙫𐙬𐙭𐙮𐙯𐙰𐙱𐙲𐙳𐙴𐙵𐙶𐙷𐙸𐙹𐙺𐙻𐙼𐙽𐙾𐙿𐚀𐚁𐚂𐚃𐚄𐚅𐚆𐚇𐚈𐚉𐚊𐚋𐚌𐚍𐚎𐚏𐚐𐚑𐚒𐚓𐚔𐚕𐚖𐚗𐚘𐚙𐚚𐚛𐚜𐚝𐚞𐚟𐚠𐚡𐚢𐚣𐚤𐚥𐚦𐚧𐚨𐚩𐚪𐚫𐚬𐚭𐚮𐚯𐚰𐚱𐚲𐚳𐚴𐚵𐚶𐚷𐚸𐚹𐚺𐚻𐚼𐚽𐚾𐚿𐛀𐛁𐛂𐛃𐛄𐛅𐛆𐛇𐛈𐛉𐛊𐛋𐛌𐛍𐛎𐛏𐛐𐛑𐛒𐛓𐛔𐛕𐛖𐛗𐛘𐛙𐛚𐛛𐛜𐛝𐛞𐛟𐛠𐛡𐛢𐛣𐛤𐛥𐛦𐛧𐛨𐛩𐛪𐛫𐛬𐛭𐛮𐛯𐛰𐛱𐛲𐛳𐛴𐛵𐛶𐛷𐛸𐛹𐛺𐛻𐛼𐛽𐛾𐛿𐜀𐜁𐜂𐜃𐜄𐜅𐜆𐜇𐜈𐜉𐜊𐜋𐜌𐜍𐜎𐜏𐜐𐜑𐜒𐜓𐜔𐜕𐜖𐜗𐜘𐜙𐜚𐜛𐜜𐜝𐜞𐜟𐜠𐜡𐜢𐜣𐜤𐜥𐜦𐜧𐜨𐜩𐜪𐜫𐜬𐜭𐜮𐜯𐜰𐜱𐜲𐜳𐜴𐜵𐜶𐜷𐜸𐜹𐜺𐜻𐜼𐜽𐜾𐜿𐝀𐝁𐝂𐝃𐝄𐝅𐝆𐝇𐝈𐝉𐝊𐝋𐝌𐝍𐝎𐝏𐝐𐝑𐝒𐝓𐝔𐝕𐝖𐝗𐝘𐝙𐝚𐝛𐝜𐝝𐝞𐝟𐝠𐝡𐝢𐝣𐝤𐝥𐝦𐝧𐝨𐝩𐝪𐝫𐝬𐝭𐝮𐝯𐝰𐝱𐝲𐝳𐝴𐝵𐝶𐝷𐝸𐝹𐝺𐝻𐝼𐝽𐝾𐝿𐞀𐞁𐞂𐞃𐞄𐞅𐞆𐞇𐞈𐞉𐞊𐞋𐞌𐞍𐞎𐞏𐞐𐞑𐞒𐞓𐞔𐞕𐞖𐞗𐞘𐞙𐞚𐞛𐞜
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*b.* Part of Canon I (restored). The position and dates of these eponymes are uncertain; there were probably two names between *a* and *b*:—

𐎶 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎶,	Bel-nahid,	B.C. 663(?)
𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶,	Dabu-sar-šin,	„ 662(?)
𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶,	Arbailai,	„ 661(?)
𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶,	Girzabuna,	„ 660(?)
𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶,	Šilim-assur,	„ 659(?)

*c.* Part of Canon III, which I should judge to extend from B.C. 657 to 648:—

𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶,	Sa-nabu-su,	B.C. 657(?)
𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶,	Labāši,	„ 656(?)
𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶,	Milki-ramu,	„ 655(?)
𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶,	Amyanu,	„ 654(?)
𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶,	Assur-nazir,	„ 653(?)
𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶,	Assur-ilai,	„ 652(?)
𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶,	Assur-dur-uzur,	„ 651(?)
𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶,	Šagabbu,	„ 650(?)
𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶,	Bel-ḥarran-sadua,	„ 649(?)
𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶,	Aḫi-ilai,	„ 648(?)

With Aḫi-ilai ends Canon III, and although we have more than twenty names of later eponymes, we have no means at present of arranging them in chronological order. The eponym in whose year of office Cylinder B was written probably comes next, the name is 𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶, Bel-sunu, B.C. 647(?); and the governor of Samaria, 𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶, Nabu-šar-aḫi-su, probably succeeded in B.C. 646. The eponymy of Samas-dain-ani, in which Cylinder A is dated, was probably about B.C. 640, but we cannot even conjecture the dates of the others.

Samaria in the time of Sennacherib and Esarhaddon was still ruled by kings, and the fact of an Assyrian governor and eponym

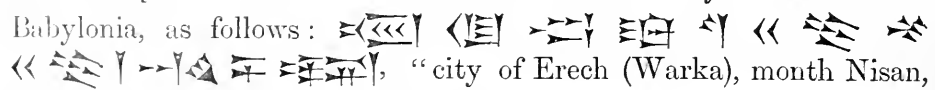
ruling at Samaria cir. B.C. 646, shows that in the interval, Samaria had been incorporated into the Assyrian empire, instead of being only under tribute.

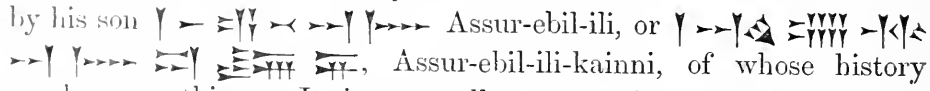
It seems on consideration of the foregoing campaigns, that the arrangement of the narratives is rather geographical than historical; but, as we have no other guide, we must assume that the principal events happened in something like the order in which we find them recorded. The first campaign, which was directed against Tirhakah, must have taken place at or near the commencement of Assurbanipal's reign, about B.C. 668 or 667; but we have no means of fixing the date of the second expedition, which was directed against Urdamane. The third campaign, directed against Tyre, is still more doubtful, and we have no knowledge of the length of time the city was besieged. I am even inclined to think that the investment of the city was commenced by Esarhaddon when he started on his Egyptian expedition, and that the city was besieged for some years. My reasons for this opinion are founded on a fragment at the British Museum, which I think belongs to Esarhaddon, and which states that the city of Tyre was besieged on the tenth expedition of the king; it afterwards mentions that he went from Muzur (Egypt) to Milukha (Ethiopia or Upper Egypt). On the other hand, some of the events mentioned under the third expedition in Cylinder A (the revolt of Psammitichus, death of Gyges, and submission of Ardys), which are not in the earlier copies (Cylinders B and C), evidently belong to a much later period in the history. These events are out of place attached to the third campaign, because in the next campaign (the fourth expedition of Cylinder B) the conquered people were transported to Egypt, which shows that Psammitichus had not yet revolted. We have no clue to the dates of the other expeditions, until we come to the revolt of Saulmugina. According to the dated tablets this rebellion commenced in the eponymy of Assurduruzur, and continued during the eponymies of his two successors, Sagab and Bilharransadua. We have no positive evidence of the date of the close of the revolt, but it was probably crushed in the eponymy of Ahiilai. Now these four eponymes are the last names in Canon III, and probably extended from B.C. 651 to 648.

It is evident that Assurbanipal reigned for some years after the last events mentioned in his annals, but the history of this period is unknown. (One of the most important points connected with the latter part of his reign is the question of the government of Babylonia.) Ptolemy's Canon gives after Saosduchin or Saulmugina, Ἰσινιλαδάνου or Κινηλαδάνου, with a reign of twenty-two years. These forms are corruptions of some Assyrian name, and several conjectures have been hazarded as to their origin, but it has not hitherto been discovered, and I was in ignorance of it myself until this sheet was in the press. I now find from the tablet K, 195, that this was a name of Assurbanipal. I have long known that the later Assyrian monarchs sometimes bore two names, one instance of this custom is printed in Cuneif. Inscript. Vol. III, p. 16, where we have 𐎶 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶, Assur-ebil-mukin-pal, the second name of Esarhaddon; the tablet was inscribed in the reign of Sennacherib (the father of Esarhaddon), who writes as follows: "To Assur-ah-iddina (Esarhaddon) my son, whom afterwards Assur-ebil-mukin-pal by name I called." Another instance is the name 𐎶 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶, Bel-sum-iskun, or Bel-zikir-iskun; this is the second name of another late Assyrian king, either Shalmaneser or Sargon, probably the latter. In an enumeration of Assyrian monarchs Bel-zikir-iskun comes between Tiglath Pileser and Sennacherib. This custom of having two names may account for two facts, the absence of the name of Pul in our present Assyrian inscriptions, and the name of Sennacherib in Canon III, which is Assur-ah-iriba instead of Sin-ahi-iriba.

K, 195, gives another illustration of this practice, as it records the other name of Assurbanipal, which is 𐎶 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 (v. 𐎶𐎶), Sin-inadina-pal (v. pal). I have already given inscriptions (pp. 4 to 13) (which state that Esarhaddon associated his son Assurbanipal with himself on the throne; in accordance with that fact there are several tablets of the reign of Esarhaddon in which Assurbanipal's name is joined with his own in adoration to the deity Shamash. On most of these tablets the name of Assurbanipal is written as usual, but on one of them (K, 195) the name is twice given Sininadinapal; and it is easy to see that the first part of this name, Sininadina, is the origin of Isiniladanus, the only material change

being the alteration of the Assyrian *n* into the Greek *l*, a change which has been made likewise in several Babylonian names; thus the Greeks often turned the name of the god Nabu into Labo or Laby, (as in Nabonidus or Labynetus).

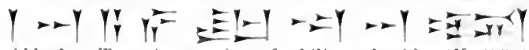
The following is a translation of an extract from Esarhaddon's tablet (K, 195): "Sin-inadina-pal son of Assur-ah-iddina, king of Assyria, whose name on this tablet is inscribed, to the Government in the earth, in the presence of thy great divinity Shamas great lord, he is proclaimed and established." The statement here that Sininadina-pal was proclaimed to the government shows him to be the same as Assurbanipal whom Esarhaddon joined with himself in the government. If Sininadinapal be the same as Assurbanipal king of Assyria, and the Isiniladanus king of Babylon of Ptolemy, then we ought to find inscriptions of Assurbanipal claiming the crown of Babylon; and accordingly we have on K, 3079, the mutilated titles of Assurbanipal as king of Babylonia; the translation is as follows: "Assurbanipal, the great king, king of nations, king of Assyria [king of] the four [regions], [high priest of Bab]-ili (Babylon), [king of Sumir and] Akkad (Upper and Lower Babylonia), [son of Assur]-ahi-iddina, [king of nations, king] of Assyria, [son of Sin]-ahi-iriba, [king of nations, king] of Assyria." The same text probably formed the heading of Cylinder C. We have beside a regnal date of Assurbanipal on a contract tablet from the city of Warka in Babylonia, as follows: , "city of Erech (Warka), month Nisan, 20th day, 20th year of Assurbanipal."

The fact that Samas-dain-ani, prefect of Babylon, took his turn as eponym in the reign of Assurbanipal, also goes to prove the same point. The identification of Assurbanipal with the Kineladanus or Isiniladanus of Ptolemy shows us that Assurbanipal reigned forty-two years, and died in the year B.C. 626, when he was succeeded by his son , Assur-ebil-ili, or Assur-ebil-ili-kainni, of whose history we know nothing. It is generally supposed that under him the Assyrian empire was overthrown.

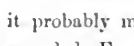
## NOTES. ADDITIONS, AND CORRECTIONS.

## PAGE

## 2. The name of Assurbanipal.


I have overlooked one form of the name of Assurbanipal, namely, . This is found in the Akkad or Turaninn version of a bilingual tablet (K, 4933). This text is instructive, as it was evidently composed in the time of Assurbanipal, and shows that the Akkad form of writing was used for the composition of texts as late as the middle of the 7th century B.C.

„ , Bit-riduti.


The first character in this name signifies "house," the second "phallus;" it probably meant "the harem." The first character  was very likely sounded E, as in Cuneif. Inscript., Vol. II, p. 2, No. cccxiv, and the whole name E-riduti. It was probably the palace of Evorita, in which the last king of Nineveh burnt himself.


## 4. Cylinder A, col. i, line 12, &amp;c.

In this passage and several other places we have allusion to the Assyrian calendar and feasts. I have put together at the Museum a series of tablets (at present unpublished), giving a complete calendar, and in illustration of these passages, I will give a sketch of it. First, each month had a presiding deity or deities; these were:—


, Month Nisan of Anu and Bel.

, Month Iyyar of Hea, lord of mankind.

, Month Sivan of Sin, eldest son of Bel.

, Month Tammuz of the warrior Ninip.

, Month Ab of the mistress . . . .

, Month Elul of Ishtar, mistress . . . .

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵, Month  
Tisri of Shamas, warrior of the universe.

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 (𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵) 𐎶𐎵𐎵𐎵𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎵𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎵𐎵,  
Month Marchesvan of the ruler of all the Gods, Merodach.

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵, Month Kislev of the great  
warrior Nergal.

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵,  
Month Tebet of Papsukul, attendant of Anu and Ishtar.

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵,  
Month Sebat of Vul, leader of heaven and earth.

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵, Month Adar of the  
seven great Gods.

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵, Month Veadar of Assur,  
father of the Gods.

Each day of the month was a festival to a particular deity or deities, and this succession of festivals was the same in each month, so that a list of the daily festivals of one month answers for all the months of the year; these festivals are as follows (I have only transcribed the names of the festivals):—

𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵, 1st day of Anu and Bel.

𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎵𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵, 2nd day of the Goddesses.

𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵, 3rd day *nu-be-tu* of Merodach and Zirbanit.

𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵, 4th day *ud-ab-ab* of Nebo.

𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵, 5th day  
of Bel-esir and Belat-esir.

𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵, 6th day of Vul and Sala.

𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵, 7th day  
*nu-be-tu* of Merodach and Zirbanit.

𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵, 8th day *ud-ab-ab* of Nebo.

𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵, 9th day of Ninip and Gula.

𐎶𐎵 𐎠 𐎶𐎥𐎶 𐎶𐎥𐎶 𐎶𐎥𐎶 𐎶𐎥𐎶 𐎶𐎥𐎶 𐎶𐎥𐎶 𐎶𐎥𐎶 𐎶𐎥𐎶 𐎶𐎥𐎶 𐎶𐎥𐎶, 10th day  
of Belat-esir va Dayan.

𐎶𐎵 𐎠𐎵 𐎶𐎥𐎶 𐎶𐎥𐎶 𐎶𐎥𐎶 𐎶𐎥𐎶 𐎶𐎥𐎶 𐎶𐎥𐎶 𐎶𐎥𐎶 𐎶𐎥𐎶 𐎶𐎥𐎶 𐎶𐎥𐎶, 11th day *sa-lam-man-ni-ti* of  
Urmit and Zirpanit.

𐎶𐎵 𐎠𐎵 𐎶𐎥𐎶 𐎶𐎥𐎶 𐎶𐎥𐎶 𐎶𐎥𐎶 𐎶𐎥𐎶 𐎶𐎥𐎶 𐎶𐎥𐎶 𐎶𐎥𐎶 𐎶𐎥𐎶, 12th day *Bel-bel*  
of Bel and Beltis.

𐎶𐎵 𐎠𐎵 𐎶𐎥𐎶 𐎶𐎥𐎶 𐎶𐎥𐎶 𐎶𐎥𐎶 𐎶𐎥𐎶, 13th day of Sin the great God.

𐎶𐎵 𐎠𐎵 𐎶𐎥𐎶 𐎶𐎥𐎶 𐎶𐎥𐎶 𐎶𐎥𐎶 𐎶𐎥𐎶 𐎶𐎥𐎶, 14th day of Beltis and Nergal.

𐎶𐎵 𐎠𐎵 𐎶𐎥𐎶 𐎶𐎥𐎶 𐎶𐎥𐎶 𐎶𐎥𐎶 𐎶𐎥𐎶 𐎶𐎥𐎶 𐎶𐎥𐎶 𐎶𐎥𐎶 𐎶𐎥𐎶, 15th day of the lady of Bit-anna, *kak-sa-rit* of Sin the great God.

𐎶𐎵 𐎠𐎵 𐎶𐎥𐎶 𐎶𐎥𐎶 𐎶𐎥𐎶 𐎶𐎥𐎶 𐎶𐎥𐎶 𐎶𐎥𐎶 𐎶𐎥𐎶 𐎶𐎥𐎶 𐎶𐎥𐎶, 16th day *nu-be-tu* of (Merodach and) Zirpanit.

𐎶𐎵 𐎠𐎵 𐎶𐎥𐎶 𐎶𐎥𐎶 𐎶𐎥𐎶 𐎶𐎥𐎶 𐎶𐎥𐎶 𐎶𐎥𐎶, 17th day *ud-ab-ab* of Nebo.

𐎶𐎵 𐎠𐎵 𐎶𐎥𐎶 𐎶𐎥𐎶 𐎶𐎥𐎶 𐎶𐎥𐎶 𐎶𐎥𐎶 𐎶𐎥𐎶, 18th day *sar* of the Moon and Sun.

𐎶𐎵 𐎠𐎵 𐎶𐎥𐎶 𐎶𐎥𐎶 𐎶𐎥𐎶 𐎶𐎥𐎶 𐎶𐎥𐎶 𐎶𐎥𐎶, 19th day *ib-bu-u* of Gula.

𐎶𐎵 𐎠𐎵 𐎶𐎥𐎶 𐎶𐎥𐎶 𐎶𐎥𐎶 𐎶𐎥𐎶 𐎶𐎥𐎶 𐎶𐎥𐎶, 20th day *zab-se-sa* of the  
Moon and Sun.

𐎶𐎵 𐎠𐎵 𐎶𐎥𐎶 𐎶𐎥𐎶 𐎶𐎥𐎶 𐎶𐎥𐎶 𐎶𐎥𐎶 𐎶𐎥𐎶, 21st day *kak-sa-rit* of the  
Moon and Sun.

𐎶𐎵 𐎠𐎵 𐎶𐎥𐎶 𐎶𐎥𐎶 𐎶𐎥𐎶 𐎶𐎥𐎶 𐎶𐎥𐎶 𐎶𐎥𐎶, 22nd day *kak-sa-rit* of the Moon and Sun, *sar* of Belat-ekal.

𐎶𐎵 𐎠𐎵 𐎶𐎥𐎶 𐎶𐎥𐎶 𐎶𐎥𐎶 𐎶𐎥𐎶 𐎶𐎥𐎶 𐎶𐎥𐎶, 23rd day *sar* of Shamash  
and Vul.

𐎶𐎵 𐎠𐎵 𐎶𐎥𐎶 𐎶𐎥𐎶 𐎶𐎥𐎶 𐎶𐎥𐎶 𐎶𐎥𐎶 𐎶𐎥𐎶, 24th day of Bel-ekal and Belat-ekal.

𐎶𐎵 𐎠𐎵 𐎶𐎥𐎶 𐎶𐎥𐎶 𐎶𐎥𐎶 𐎶𐎥𐎶 𐎶𐎥𐎶 𐎶𐎥𐎶, 25th day *sa-da-hu* of Bel and the lady of Babylon.

𐎶𐎵 𐎠𐎵 𐎶𐎥𐎶 𐎶𐎥𐎶 𐎶𐎥𐎶 𐎶𐎥𐎶 𐎶𐎥𐎶 𐎶𐎥𐎶, 26th day *ru-un-zun* of Hea the great God.



## PAGE

9, line 6. means a "general" or "superior officer."

I have been in doubt as to the phonetic reading, and have given it in different places "sutsaki" and "ummati," perhaps both wrong. , "sak," means an "officer," and , "su-par," means "top or over," so that the reading may be "supar-saki," "one over the officers."

17, line 69. , "murrannu" or "harrannu," a "march" or "road."

I have uniformly given the sound "murrannu" to this word, but the town bearing this name was certainly "Harran," and the examples given by Mr. Norris, Dict. p. 445, are in favour of "har" for the first character.

19, line 87. , doubtful word. , which I have here translated "advance," probably means "fear."

„ line 88. Doubtful passage. See p. 180, line 110.

23, line 117. Read "mas-gan-i" for "mas-gar-i." Heb.

„ line 124. "Ina a-di-ya ih-du-u," "against my agreement sinned."

24, line 1. .

I have given the form "seme" as the rendering; it is more probably "semat," as prefixed to a root appears to indicate a form ending in a servile "t."

„ line 6. "Mi-i-nu," "are numbered."

27, line 36. The following would be a better translation of this passage: "an agreement stronger than before I caused to restore, and with him I made."

28, line 38. means "feet," but the phonetic value is uncertain; my reading, "sanguti," was founded on a passage in Cuneif. Inser., Vol. III, p. 15, col. i, but I now think "sitti" the correct reading.

„ line 39. "Gir parzil sibbi" indicates a "straight sword," and not a "seimitar."

„ line 47. I doubt if "Nebosezibani" was son of "Neeko," but cannot suggest any other reading.

29, line 52. must here mean a "region" or "place." See a parallel passage in Layard's Inscr., p. 95, line 152.











































34, line 9. Ši-hir-ti.

This word is from the same root as pahir, the *p* and *š* frequently interchanging in Assyrian.


35, line 16. ( ) .

This passage occurs several times, and I have been very uncertain as to its meaning, principally from not knowing which of the phonetic values of ought to be adopted here. sometimes reads "mat-ti," "of a country," and at times "san-ti," "of a year" or "yearly." My latest opinion on this subject I have given in p. 317, line *d*.














## PAGE

- 37, line 9. Substitute  for  in "yapi;" this word is found in three forms, "yati," "yapi," and "yasi."
- 38, line 11. Read "si" for "si" in al-si-ma; it is doubtful if the "ma" belongs to this word.
- 40, line 24. Buṣṣurat; see Heb. .
- „ line 28. "Hul-lu-uq," "to cut off."
- 42, line 34. Substitute "ṣun" for "sun."
- „ line 37. Substitute   for   in "i-na-kit-u."
- 45, line 55.  , "ṣimat," appears to mean anything fabricated; the root is .
- 54, line 75.    .  
 Certainly denotes a female, and is equated with , but I have no faith in the value "sin-nis," which I have here adopted.
59. The passage in the addition to line 88, "their mouth drank," is literally "to their mouth it drank."
- „ line 89. Substitute   for  , in "nap-sat," and read "u-gar-ri" for "u-tir-ri."
- 61, line 105. "Dazati." In a bilingual list I find      as an equivalent of   , "zalti," "battle" or "fight." I had not noticed this when I translated it "depredations."
- „ line 110. Substitute  for  at beginning of line.
- 63, line 125. Read "ḥa" for "ha" in ḥa-dis.
- 67, line 38. Pa-an.  
 This word, meaning "front" and "before," is often used for "time past."
- 73, line 4. The passage in brackets has been partially erased by the writer of the inscription.
- 76, line 28. "Sitkunu subtu," "was situated the seat."
- „ line 31.    on a bilingual tablet is equated to   , "sa-rad;" it is used for "paint," but in this place perhaps means "dyed garments," Heb. .
- 86, line 66. Read "ṣuqi" for "tarzi."
- 87, line 68. Substitute    for   .
- „ line 74. "U'bu," meaning very doubtful.
- 92, line 49. Read "u-gar-ri" for "u-tir-ri."
- 103, line 49. The word "ḥarran," "road," in most similar cases follows "aḫbat;" perhaps it is accidentally omitted here.

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- 104, line 55. . I have given "sanat an-na" as the reading of this group, but the "anna" may possibly be the phonetic reading of the word, if so, it would read "sanna."






The passage from p. 104, line 58, to p. 105, line 63, present many difficulties, and the present reading can only be considered an approximation.

- 105, line 70. Read "nam" for "num" in sa-nam-ma.  
 106, line 71.  on some bilingual tablets is equated with ,  
 "gal-lu-n," the name of a class of spirits or genii, generally evil ones.  
 117, line 94. Substitute       "mi-ri-he-e-ti," for  
     "mi-mut-e-ti."

- ., line 3.  $\overline{\text{𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵}} \text{𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶}$   $\langle$ , “ša-hu-a,” appears rather to be  $\overline{\text{𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵}} \text{𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶}$   $\langle$ , “ir-hu-a.”

The passage from p. 118, line 5, to p. 126, line 79, is full of difficulties, and the translation in several places not to be relied on. By accident I have wrongly translated the monogram  $\text{I}$  as "zit," "rising," it is "erib," "setting," but I doubt now if  $\text{I}$  is used here as a monogram. It is evident that my translation is wrong in lines 6 to 8, but I do not know what to propose instead.

The passage in lines 10 to 13 appears from the sense to refer to the Goddess Ishtar, but the verbs are in the third person masculine, only the pronoun **𐎶𐎵**, "sa," at the end, showing the feminine.

- 123, line 49. One copy has the variant  . "sa-at," for .
- 125, line 65. "Kurnunn" I believe to be "wine," from "karanu," a "vine" (see note to p. 267, line 73); Assurbanipal is here told to drink it.
- 127, line 84, to p. 128, line 93. The junction of the fragmentary texts is not quite certain, and consequently there is some doubt about the reading.
- 132, line 22. "Na-ganti" I have translated "musical instruments," thinking at the time of the Heb. נגינות; this was a mistake, "naganti" means "treasures."
- 133, line 42.  .

I have not recognized the true phonetic reading of this word until my work was completed. A bilingual gives the reading  $\langle \text{E} \rangle \text{ } \blacklozenge$ , "ki-sud," and in the parallel passage Cuneif. Insc., Vol. I, p. 45, line 51, we have  $\langle \text{E} \rangle \text{ } \blacktriangledown \text{ } \langle \text{H} \rangle$ , "ki-sa-di," the meaning is "neck."

- 135, line 57. . One bilingual gives  , "sa-ti," for the value of the character; another gives  , "ir-ti," which I now find to be the correct form.

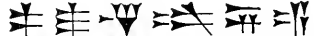

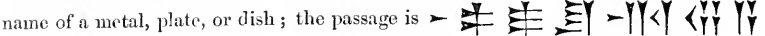
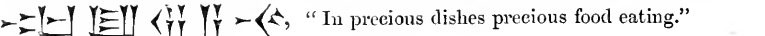
- ., line 59. "Kullumi," perhaps here means "to revile."

- 140, line *h*. "Mitpamu," the Assyrian name of the bow, is here written phonetically instead of the usual  $\text{𐎢𐎣} \text{𐎠𐎶}$ ; another instance occurs in Cuneif. Insc., Vol. I, p. 7, No. ix A.

## PAGE

145, line 2. "Uz-zi," "an arrow;" see Cuneif. Insc., Vol. I, p. 42, line 57, where we have "mitpanate va uzzi," "bows and arrows."

153, line 22. The word "passar" is one of the most difficult in the Assyrian language.

In Cuneif. Insc., Vol. II, p. 23, l. 28, we have  equated with , but this does not explain the present passage; my reading "state chairs" is a mere makeshift. In K, 2562, a passage occurs which leads me to the opinion that "passur" was the name of a metal, plate, or dish; the passage is  , "In precious dishes precious food eating."




160, line 77. Restoration and reading not quite certain.

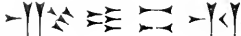

„ line 79. "Ke-e;" the translation "only" for this word is doubtful; it may mean "then."



164, line 114. Te-bis-u.

I have some doubt about this word, the Cylinder is fractured here.

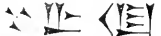
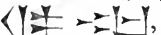
165, line 122. .

This word, whatever its sound, evidently means "a chariot;" the first part, , in Cuneif. Insc., Vol. II, p. 16, l. 36, is equated with , "ruk-kip-ta;" the second part, , is probably connected with "is-du-du."

166, line 10. , zibi *bird*, means a "rapacious bird," Heb.  rapuit.

„ line 11. , id *bird*, is probably connected with the Heb. , "ravenous bird," "bird of prey."

167, line 21, to p. 168, line 24, is a doubtful passage; no dependence can be placed in the present translation.

„ line 25.  is shown by the bilingual tablets to be the equivalent of , p. 169, line 40.

169, line 34. Restore .

173. Something is lost between lines 25 and 26.

175, line 49. Read "a-ha-mis" for "a-ha-mis."

177, line 78. Last part doubtful.

„ line 81. "Kill." This is a word meaning anything fabricated; in some cases it cannot mean "a boat."

„ line 83, to p. 178, line 87. The reading is doubtful on account of the fractured state of the cylinder.

## PAGE

## 181. Omen tablet inscriptions.

The style of these inscriptions is different to the ordinary annals, and they are more difficult to translate, so that although the general sense is correct, the separate words cannot always be relied on.





183, line *p*, to page 184, line *s*.

The construction of this passage is very singular, but I think the translation is quite correct.

## 189. Proclamation. This is a difficult inscription; the translation is doubtful in several places.

## 193, line 15. The word "rugged" was accidentally omitted.

„ line 16. .

The phonetic reading of this monogram is given on bilingual tablets as   , "qa-ne-a," Heb. קנא; the character  probably denotes some epithet, the whole meaning a particular kind of reed.

## „ line 2. "Ikil pa," doubtful words.

206, line 49. Substitute  for .

## 208, line 65. "Şapti." I should have felt inclined to translate "tongues" here, but the word is clearly "lips."

## 213. A comparison of the list of towns in pp. 213, 214, 220, 241, 242, with the list in Cuneif. Insc., Vol. I, p. 40, will show many interesting variations.

## 219, line 5. The form "uk-ta-ta-zir" from "kizir" is remarkable; this conjugation is very rarely used.

220, line 7. . This character means "ditto," but its sound is unknown to me.




## 227, line 75. "Susinaq."

I take the reading "Susinaq" from Cuneif. Insc., Vol. II, p. 57, line 18, and the Susian Inscriptions, lithographed by Loftus; but this reading for the characters in the present passage of Assurbanipal, although probable, is not certain.

## 228, line 77. "Lagamaru."

This is certainly the deity whose name enters into the proper name of Cheorlaomer.

229, line 87. .

This complicated character denoted a "statue," and the reading is given in Cuneif. Insc., Vol. III, p. 70, line 52, as   , "za-al-mu."

## 233, line 118. "Huşi" is given in a bilingual as the equivalent of "raqip," "to ride."

„ line 123.    . A bilingual fragment gives   , sal-la-tu, as the reading of this character.



## PAGE

287. There are some lines wanting between lines 20 and 21.

288, line 37. First part of name very doubtful.

289, line 39. Read "zer" for "zin."

290, line 56. Substitute  $\langle \text{Y} \rangle \text{S}$  for  $\langle \text{Y} \rangle \text{S}$ .

297, line 5.  $\text{S} \text{V} \text{S}$ , mostly written  $\text{S} \text{S}$ .

A bilingual tablet gives the reading  $\text{S} \langle \text{Y} \text{S} \rangle$  "sub (?) - di" Heb. שִׁבְט; the bilingual passage is among a number of titles of Nebo, and reads "Holding the great sceptre, director of the world."

301, line 118. "Şahmasti" is probably connected with "şihū," "a revolt;" it is  $\text{S} \text{Y} \text{S} \text{Y} \text{S}$ , şī-hū-mas-tu, in Cuneif. Insc., Vol. I, p. 32, l. 40, and  $\text{S} \text{Y} \text{S} \text{S} \text{Y} \text{S}$ , şī-ḫi-mas-ti, in an unpublished tablet of Assurbanipal.

302, line 8.  $\text{S} \text{S} \text{S}$ , the monogram for "a sheep," I believe, means "a sacrifice," and  $\text{S} \text{S}$ , "niqa," "a libation," Heb. נִיקָה; the verbal form "niqa" came to mean "to sacrifice" as well as "to pour out."

„ line 11. The words "adi Ili" are doubtful, on account of a fracture.

305, line 7. The  $\langle \text{Y} \rangle$  at the end of this line cannot mean "her," as Mr. Norris suggests, Dict. p. 623, because it also occurs in the other version of this inscription which is dedicated to the God Nebo.

308, line 31, to p. 311, line 59.

This passage is so defective that little reliance can be placed in the reading.

313, line 78.  $\text{S} \text{Y} \text{S} \text{S} \text{S} \text{Y} \text{S}$ . A bilingual tablet gives  $\text{S} \text{Y} \text{S} \text{Y} \text{S}$   $\text{S} \text{S}$ , e-ri-ni, as the equivalent of this monogram.

315, line 27. Read "si" for "ši" in si-di.



# CHRONOLOGICAL REMARKS

ON THE HISTORY OF

## ASSURBANIPAL,

CALLED ALSO

ASSURBANI,\* AND ASSNAPPAR,† WRITTEN CORRUPTLY ACIRAGANES,‡

*Who reigned at Ninereh from B.C. 668 to 627; the immediate predecessor of Sardanapalus.*

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BY J. W. BOSANQUET, F.R.A.S.

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THE Inscriptions of Assurbanipal, son of Esarhaddon, and grandson of Sennacherib, are of great interest to the historical inquirer, as affording accurate points of contact between Egyptian, Assyrian, Hebrew, and Lydian history, and as throwing light upon several doubtful points in the comparative chronology of these four nations.

### I. AS REGARDS EGYPT.

I come at once to the valuable discovery made by Mr. George Smith, the translator of the foregoing history, that the date of the revolt of Psammetichus I, king of Egypt, from the dominion of the Assyrians, which I assume to be equivalent to the date of his putting down the Assyrian governors set over Egypt by Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal, called “the dodecarchy” by Herodotus and Diodorus, and establishing himself as sole monarch of that country, was the year B.C. 652-1. The establishment of this single date seems to me to lead to so many important results in history as to justify some detail, while examining the grounds upon which it rests.

We are all aware that Manetho, the Egyptian priest and historian, in the days of Philadelphus, assuming that his reckoning is truly

\* G. Smith.

† Ezra iv. 10.

‡ Castor and Abydenus.

represented to us by Africanus, in the third century, placed the death of Necho I, the father of Psammetichus, in the year B.C. 655, and the accession of Psammetichus in 654, allowing for no interval between the two reigns: thus—

XXVI<sup>th</sup> DYNASTY—OF NINE SAITE KINGS.

Stephianates .. .. .	7 years,	from B.C. 675
Nechepsos .. .. .	6 "	" 668
Necho I .. .. .	8 "	" 662
Psammetichus .. .. .	54 "	" 654
Necho II .. .. .	6 "	" 600
Psammuthis .. .. .	6 "	" 594
Vaphres (or Hophra) ..	19 "	" 588
Amasis .. .. .	44 "	" 569
Psammecherites .. .. .	6 months,	" 525
Altogether 150 years and 6 months.		

XXVII<sup>th</sup> DYNASTY—OF EIGHT PERSIAN KINGS.

Cambyses, in the 5th year of his reign over the	{	525
Persians, reigned over Egypt six years * ..		to 519

This reckoning is peculiar to Manetho, as copied by Africanus, both as regards the date of the death of Necho I, and the date of the death of Cambyses. Both dates, however, I believe to be correct. But the copyist is, I think, incorrect in placing the accession of Psammetichus immediately after the death of his father, who was merely one of twelve kings in lower Egypt, not sovereign both of upper and lower Egypt. So that Psammetichus could not by inheritance lay claim to the title to the throne of the whole kingdom so early as B.C. 554. If we modify this statement, as seems to be required, by allowing an interval of two years between the death of Necho and the actual accession of Psammetichus, during which time Psammetichus was once compelled to fly from Egypt, that is when the king of Ethiopia had slain his father,† and once again confined by the other eleven kings to the lower parts of Egypt, as related by Herodotus, it will bring us to the same year B.C. 652–1 for the time of his becoming sole and absolute king of upper and lower Egypt. This testimony of Manetho is valuable for its independence of other reckonings of the reigns of the XXVI<sup>th</sup> Dynasty. Yet it has never been accepted by chronologists, owing to uncertainty as to the

\* Cambyses reigned from 529 to 518, and died in May, 518. His first year in Egypt was 525, though Psammecherites then reigned; 518, his last, was counted to the Magi.

† Herodotus ii, 152.

proper mode of adjusting the reckoning of the intermediate reigns from Psammetichus to Cambyses, after curtailing ten years from the sum total of the separate reigns, as known from monumental sources, which together amount to 160 years and 6 months, not 150 and 6 months, as stated by Africanus. Even Africanus himself, who makes the deduction of ten years, does it incorrectly, by shortening the reign of Necho II, and making it six instead of sixteen years, rather than lapping over the reigns of Apries and Amasis.

In the year 1864 I pointed out,\* in reply to a paper written by Dr. Hincks in the *Journal of Sacred Literature*, how Mariette's discovery of the tombs of the sacred bulls buried at Memphis in the successive reigns of Tirhakah, Psammetichus, Necho II, Psammuthis, Apries, Amasis, Cambyses, and Darius, had supplied the means of correctly adjusting these several reigns: how from these Apis-monuments it was proved to be incorrect to assign to both Apries and Amasis the full length of their reigns, inasmuch as the Apis whose burial took place in August of the 12th year of Apries was followed by an Apis installed in February of the 5th year of Amasis, showing that the 5th of Amasis must have followed within six or eighteen months of the 12th year of Apries; and how these two kings, therefore, must have been living, if not reigning, together for ten or eleven years. From the Apis-tablets, therefore, we learn that the last year of Apries was concurrent with the 11th year of Amasis, B.C. 559, and by a comparison of these tablets with other Egyptian monuments we obtain, what I conceive to be the correct arrangement of the reigns: thus—

Psammetichus .. .. .	54 years,	from	2 Feb. B.C.	652
Necho II .. .. .	15½ "	"	19 Jan. "	598
Psammuthis .. .. .	5½ "	"	16 " "	583
Apries, or Hophra .. ..	19 "	"	15 " "	577
Amasis, counting from his conquest of Apries	44 "	"	12 " "	569
From the death of Apries	35† "	"	9 " "	558
Psammecherites .. ..	6 months,	"	" "	525
Cambyses .. .. .	6 years,	"	1 " "	524
Magi .. .. .	7 months,	"	" "	518
Darius .. .. .	36 years,	"	30 Dec. "	518

\* *Journal of Sac. Lit.*, Oct., 1864.

† Diodorus has 55 in our present copies. Amasis was still alive in 524, according to Ctesias. Some called this his 35th year: others called it 2nd of Cambyses.

The same result is obtained from Herodotus,\* who tells us that when Amasis, who was of low rank by birth, and little honoured at first by the Egyptians, had conquered Apries of the blood royal of Egypt, he dared not to put the king to death, but allowed him to remain in his own palace at Sais, till he was put to death, as we are told by Josephus,† in the 23rd or 24th year of Nebuchadnezzar, and by that king's command; or, as Herodotus relates, by the partizans of Amasis, who were jealous of his being allowed to live. Apries was then buried with kingly honours, and a sumptuous monument erected by Amasis to his memory. After the death of Apries, Amasis no doubt reckoned his own reign as 44 years, counting from the conquest of his master: but the priests of Memphis who inscribed the tablets, and also the neighbouring nations, would still have looked upon Apries as legitimate king as long as he remained alive, that is, till B.C. 559. Thus while the 4th year of Amasis, 566, was reckoned by the priests as the 12th of Apries, Ezekiel,‡ in the 7th year of Amasis, still speaks of Hophra as Pharaoh, while apparently alluding to his deprivation of power, in these words:—“I have broken the arm of Pharaoh king of Egypt, and it shall not be bound up to be healed.”

A similar and striking instance of this double mode of reckoning regnal years, on a change of dynasty from kingly to plebeian line, and one bearing, as we shall see, on the chronology of this period, is found in the time of Herod the great. For when he had conquered and deposed Antigonus, the last of the Asmonean kings of Judæa, at the close of the sabbatical year B.C. 37, three years after he had been appointed king by the Senate of Rome, Josephus tells us that not even torture could induce the Jews to recognize him as king so long as Antigonus, of native kingly race, which Herod was not, remained alive. Antigonus, therefore, was at length put to death by Mark Antony, as Apries had been put to death by the partizans of Amasis, that Herod might reign; and Josephus|| records a double reckoning of the years of his reign, counting thirty-seven years from his appointment by the Senate, or rather perhaps from

\* Herod. ii. 172.

† Jos. Ant. x. ix. 7.

‡ Ezek. xxx. 21.

|| Ibid. xvii. viii. 1.

his arrival in Judæa as king, and thirty-four years from the time of the murder of Antigonus, in the spring of B.C. 36.\*

In the same article, I referred to an argument, the force of which was fully recognized by Dr. Hincks, drawn from the date of the total solar eclipse of B.C. 585, which put an end to the six years' war between Cyaxares and Alyattes king of Lydia, which war was over before the capture of Nineveh. Dr. Hincks laboured hard to show that the total eclipse of B.C. 603 must have been the eclipse referred to by Herodotus, though Alyattes, according to the Parian Chronicle, had then been only two years on the throne, and it is now determined by astronomers that the shadow of that eclipse passed over the Red Sea, and not near Asia Minor: for he well knew, as most other chronologists also admit, that the eclipse and battle referred to must have happened close upon the time of the fall of Nineveh, and therefore close upon the time of the death of Necho II, and the first year of Nebuchadnezzar. So that Pharaoh Necho who fell into the hands of Nebuchadnezzar, who sought his life (Jerem. xlvii, 26), after 585, could not have died much earlier than the year B.C. 583, where I place his death. And as Psammetichus began to reign in the 70th year preceding Necho's death, the accession of Psammetichus by this argument also would be placed not earlier than B.C. 652.

Mr. George Smith, from the inscriptions of Assurbanipal, has led us, by a perfectly different process, to the same conclusion. He has given the list of Archons eponymes at Nineveh, together with their dates (p. 321), from the accession of Assurbanipal, in B.C. 668, to the year 648: and although he does not bind himself to any particular date for the first year of Psammetichus, he has shown that the revolt of Psammetichus from the dominion of Assyria, which began in the year of the death of Gyges king of Lydia, was connected with the revolt of Saulmugina king of Babylon, which broke out in the year that Assurdurusur was archon at Nineveh, that is, in the year B.C. 652-1 (66, 67, 151, 181).†

It will have been observed in the foregoing history, that Assurbanipal speaks of Gyges king of Lydia, having "sent his forces to the

\* Herod's 35th year was not completed. He died before the month Nisan B.C. 1, and, according to Jewish custom, Archelaus' first year was reckoned from B.C. 2.

† See also *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache*, Sept. 1868, p. 98; also an article in the *North British Review*, July, 1870, p. 354.

aid of Psammetichus king of Egypt (Muzur), who had thrown off the yoke" (p. 66). Now those forces are unquestionably the same as the body of Carians and Ionians in brazen armour spoken of by Herodotus\* and Diodorus,† with whose assistance he conquered the other eleven kings of the dodecarchy, and made himself master of the throne. The chronology, therefore, of the period, after making some allowance for differences between Egyptian and Assyrian modes of relating the same facts, seems to run thus:—Necho's last year, as stated by Manetho, was B.C. 655. He was slain by the king of Ethiopia in that year. In the same year, according to Herodotus, Psammetichus was expelled from Egypt either by the Assyrians or Ethiopians, and fled into Asia Minor, where he was welcomed, as appears, at the court of Gyges. Gyges, then in his last year, took up his cause, and prepared to send a force of Carians and Ionians to support his claim to the throne of Egypt; both thus casting off their allegiance to the king of Assyria. Assurbanipal, who was then engaged in war with Elam, and unable to detach any of his forces, imprecates curses on the head of Gyges, who, in answer to his prayer, is slain by the Cimmerians, either in 655, or in the beginning of 654 (p. 67), and Psammetichus, in the same or the following year, is recalled to Egypt by the people of Sais. Being, however, suspected of ambitious designs upon the throne by the eleven other confederate kings, and not yet, therefore, reckoned sole king of Egypt, he is confined by them to the lower parts about the Delta; when suddenly, in B.C. 653, a body of Carians and Ionians having landed in the Delta, he puts himself at their head, and in the course of that year conquers the eleven confederates and makes himself supreme. His first year, therefore, was probably 653, though his reign would not be counted till the month Thoth in the following year, that is, from the 2nd Feb., B.C. 652.

The correctness of this view of the history is confirmed with exactness by a comparison of Diodorus with the records of Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal. Diodorus relates that when the king of Ethiopia, whom he wrongly supposes to be Sabbaco, but who was really Tirhakah, had, in obedience to a vision, departed from Egypt, and returned to Ethiopia, there was anarchy in Egypt during two

\* Herod. ii, 152.

† Diodorus, lib. i, Rhodom. p. 59.

years. The Assyrian account, as collected from the annals of Esarhaddon, is somewhat different. Esarhaddon records that he conquered Tirhakah about the year B.C. 671-670, and compelled him to fly into Ethiopia, and that the Assyrians then divided Egypt into twenty districts, and set over them so many petty kings, and governors. The annals of Assurbanipal then commence by recording how, in the year 668, when Esarhaddon was approaching his death, Tirhakah suddenly returned from Ethiopia, turned out the kings and governors, and again seized the throne; how he in turn was driven out a second time by Assurbanipal, and how the kings, *twelve* of whom bear Egyptian names, and governors were replaced, strengthened, and "*joined in covenant*" (p. 23). This union in covenant to support each other may be dated from B.C. 667, and continued for some few years. But "*afterwards*," let us say in 664, they entered into a conspiracy with Tirhakah, and invited him to become their supreme lord, instead of the Assyrians; still continuing their mutual covenant "*to help each other*" (p. 25). Here, then, are the two years of anarchy spoken of by Diodorus, during 669 and 668, very distinctly described, followed by a confederacy of twelve kings, and other governors, in B.C. 667. Diodorus then goes on to speak of this association of kings. For, after the two years of anarchy, he tells us that *twelve* principal governors conspired together at Memphis, and having *sworn to support each other*, made themselves kings, and administered the affairs of Egypt for 15 years; and that at the end of these 15 years, (*πεντεκαίδεκα ἔτη*, twice repeated in words), the government came into the hands of Psammetichus by the aid of a force of Arabians, Carians, and Ionians, by whom he put down the other eleven kings.\*

Thus while the Assyrian and Greek accounts sufficiently support each other as to facts, the chronology of the period has fortunately been preserved by Diodorus with complete exactness. For, if we deduct two years of anarchy and fifteen years of dodecarchy, together seventeen years, from the end of the year B.C. 670, when Tirhakah first fled from Esarhaddon into Ethiopia, we arrive again at the same date, B.C. 652, for the accession of Psammetichus.

I submit, therefore, that unless reason can be shown for doubting

\* Diodorus i, p. 59.

the accuracy of Diodorus, there is no room for disputing that the first year of the reign of Psammetichus, as king of upper and lower Egypt, was counted from the 2nd Feb., B.C. 652.

But perhaps the question may be raised, whether, admitting that Psammetichus revolted from Assyria in B.C. 652, it is not possible that his regnal years may have been counted from the time when his father Necho I was replaced on the throne of Saïs by Assurbanipal, after he had been carried prisoner to Nineveh, that is, in B.C. 662, and when his son Neboshasban (which may probably be the Assyrian name given to Psammetichus) was made one of the dodecarchy, or a petty king, at Atribes (p. 28). The one, true, and sufficient answer, however, to this question, never to be set aside,\* must still be, that unless the total solar eclipse which put an end to the six years Lydo-Median war can be placed above the year B.C. 585, where astronomers have now finally fixed it, either by adopting the total eclipse of B.C. 610, where Ideler proposed to place the last battle, or the total eclipse of B.C. 603, for which Dr. Hincks so earnestly, but unsuccessfully contended, which are the only two alternatives, the fall of Nineveh and the death of Necho II, who went up against Nineveh, saying, "I will destroy the city and the inhabitants thereof,"† cannot be placed earlier than about B.C. 583, nor the first year of Psammetichus, therefore earlier than about B.C. 652. The Apis-tablets testify that Psammetichus reigned over Egypt fifty-four years, and from the same authority we know that Necho II completed about fifteen years and a half. This joint period, therefore, of sixty-nine years and a half, beginning after the fall of the dodecarchy, in Feb. B.C. 652, and ending after the eclipse, in the summer of B.C. 583, when Nebuchadnezzar had been placed in command of his father's army, more than a year before his father's death, becomes thus, through the medium of the annals of Assurbanipal, one of the most accurately fixed periods in ancient history.

Again, the priests of Memphis registered the birth of an Apis in the 26th year of Tirhakah, and his death in the 20th year of Psammetichus, 20th day of the 12th month, Mésori.‡ So that, allowing Tirhakah to have reigned twenty-eight years, as "king of Egypt and Ethiopia" (Muzur and Kush), and his son Urdumane

\* See Herod. i. 103. † Jerem. xlv. 8. ‡ Mariette's Sérapéum de Memphis, p. 28.

(Rudammon) only two years, till he was ejected in the second expedition of Assurbanipal (p. 52), together thirty years; and supposing Psammetichus to have begun to reign in B.C. 662, Tirhakah would have become king of Egypt (Muzur) as early as 692. But this is not true. For when in the year B.C. 689 = 14th Hezekiah, Tirhakah came to fight with Sennacherib, he is spoken of by Isaiah, not as king of Egypt, but simply as king of Kush (כִּשְׂמֻר).<sup>\*</sup> So that Tirhakah was not yet king of Muzur as well as Kush so early as B.C. 692, nor did he become king of Egypt till after 689; and Psammetichus, who reigned not less than thirty years after the accession of Tirhakah to the throne of Egypt, could not, therefore, have begun to reign so early as 662.

The year B.C. 689 marks the time of a great chronological epoch in Jewish history. For in this year the affairs of Assyria, Babylonia, and Egypt, became closely interwoven with the political interests of the king of Jerusalem.

1. It is the year, in the spring of which the 14th of Hezekiah began, and in which Merodach-Baladan, son of Baladan† king of Babylon, sent messengers to inquire concerning his health, and “of the wonder done in the land.”
2. It is the year in which Sethos, or Zeet, the last of the priests of Vulcan, according to Herodotus,‡ and the last of the Tanite dynasty of Egyptian kings, according to Manetho, in the eighty-fifth year of the XXIII<sup>rd</sup> Dynasty, counted from the period of the first Olympiad (July, 776–772), was opposed to Sennacherib in his campaign into Arabia and towards Egypt, when Tirhakah came out of Ethiopia, and when the army of Sennacherib was miraculously destroyed.
3. It is the year, in the autumn of which a Jewish Sabbatical year began, which was followed by the observance of a year of Jubilee, which could only take place once in forty-nine years; and which is shown by the words of Isaiah, “ye shall eat this year such as groweth of itself, and the second year that which springeth of the same.”§

\* Isaiah xxxvii, 9.

† “Baladan” is here written short for Merodach-Baladan, as we find Shalman written for Shalmaneser, Jareb or Irib for Sennacherib, Saracus or Sharezar for Nergal-Sharezar.

‡ Herod ii, 141.

§ Isaiah xxxvii, 30; Lev. xxv, 5, 9, 11.

4. It is the year, on the 11th of January of which, Hezekiah being sick, the shadow "on the steps of Ahaz" in the king's sick chamber, returned "ten steps" which it had gone down.

The following are the elements of the solar eclipse at Jerusalem which caused this phenomenon, as computed by Mr. Hind, introducing Hansen's last value of the moon's secular equation:—

*Annular Solar Eclipse, B.C. 689, January 11.*

Greenwich Mean Time of Conjunction in R.A., Jan. 10<sup>d</sup> 20<sup>h</sup> 45<sup>m</sup> 25<sup>s</sup>\*

R. A. of ☉ and ☾	.. .. .	285° 15' 26".1
Hor. Mot. in R.A. ☉	.. .. .	2 43.6
" ☾	.. .. .	32 8.1
Declination ☉	.. .. .	— 23 2 41.1
" ☾	.. .. .	— 22 14 57.3
Hor. Mot. in Decl. ☉	.. .. .	+ 0 16.2
" ☾	.. .. .	+ 6 15.1
Hor. Parallax ☉	.. .. .	9.0
" ☾	.. .. .	54 40.2
Semi-diameter ☉	.. .. .	16 11.5
" ☾	.. .. .	14 53.9

AT JERUSALEM THE ECLIPSE WOULD BE ANNULAR:—

First Contact	.. .. Jan.	10	20	28	—	} Astronomical Mean Times at Jerusalem.
Commencement of annular phase			22	13	48	
Ending	"		22	21	15	
Last Contact	.. .. .	11	0	6	—	

∴ The duration of annular phase = 7<sup>m</sup> 27<sup>s</sup>.

1871, July 3.

J. R. HIND.

\* Mr. Hind's computation of the time of this eclipse at Jerusalem is made in conformity with the most recent theory of the moon's secular acceleration, and, according to this theory, it appears to be soon after 10 o'clock A.M., the sun's altitude being then 30°. And he suggests that the appearance of a ring-formed sun, for between seven and eight minutes, may have been spoken of as "the wonder done in the land." The Astronomer Royal, computing by Greenwich elements in 1854, reckoned the time as about 10 minutes after 11 o'clock A.M., which appears to me to be nearer the truth. The words of Isaiah are, as it were, the record of an astronomical observation at Jerusalem of the moon's latitude and longitude on the 11th Jan. B.C. 689, taken in a dark chamber in the king's palace, on an instrument in the form of steps, set at the angle of the latitude of Jerusalem, 31° 47' N. : and the theory of course must be corrected by the observation. I have explained my idea of the nature of the Dial, or "Steps of Ahaz," in a recent work, "Messiah the Prince," 2nd Edit. 1869 : according to which I conceive that the sun must have risen to about 35° in altitude on that day at the time of its greatest obscuration, and that the path of the shadow must have fallen four or five degrees north of Jerusalem : while the time was about twenty minutes before noon. The effect described could only have happened a few days before or after the winter solstice, when the shadow cast by the sun on the steps would be nearly parallel with them.

This eclipse, which fixes the 14th year of Hezekiah to the year B.C. 689, is of extreme value in settling the chronology of this period. Like the eclipse of Thales, B.C. 585, and the eclipse at Nineveh, in B.C. 763, it brings down the reigns of the kings of Judah exactly twenty-five years; and with regard to the matter in hand, it proves that Sethos, or Zeet, of the XXIII<sup>rd</sup> Dynasty, in lower Egypt, and Sevechus the Ethiopian of the XXV<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, in upper Egypt, and Tirhakah, while yet king of Ethiopia, were all on the throne at the same time, when Sennacherib invaded Judæa in the year B.C. 689; and this in fact is what Manetho wished to convey concerning these dynasties, when, speaking of Petubastes, he wrote, "*ἐφ' οὗ Ὀλυμπιάς ἤχθη πρώτη.*" Manetho must have known the exact relation of the reign of Petubastes to the Olympiad, and of course intended to express what he knew with chronological precision. He meant, therefore, that Petubastes began to reign within the four years beginning in July, B.C. 776, and ending in July, 772, which in common parlance was called the first Olympiad. We shall not err much in fixing the first year of Petubastes, therefore, in the beginning of B.C. 773, and the last year of Sethos in B.C. 685.

We now count up from the first year of Psammetichus, as fixed by the Annals of Assurbanipal, B.C. 652; and assuming that the Apis which died in his 20th year, and which was born in the 26th year of Tirhakah, had lived twenty-six years, we arrive at the date of the first year of Tirhakah, B.C. 684, as king of upper and lower Egypt, and conqueror of Sethos, and successor of Sevechus. The following is the result:—

		XXIII <sup>rd</sup> DYNASTY,			
		OF FOUR TANITE KINGS.		B.C.	
		Petubastes	40 years ..	773	
		Osorcho	8 „ ..	733	
		Psammus	10 „ ..	725	
		Zeet, or Sethos,	31 „ ..	715	
				⋮	
				to	
				⋮	
XXIV <sup>th</sup> DYNASTY.					
B.C.					
714	Boccoris the Saite, 6 years.				
XXV <sup>th</sup> DYNASTY,					
OF THREE ETHIOPIAN KINGS.					
708	Sabbaco, or So. .. 12 „				
696	Sevechus .. .. 12 „				685
684	Tirhakah .. .. 28 „	.. .. .	.. .. .	.. .. .	684

Nevertheless, there are some perhaps who will be disposed to adhere, with Dr. Lepsius, to the common reckoning, and to place the first of Psammetichus in B.C. 664, and the last of Necho I in 595;

more especially as this reckoning is supported by the great authority of Clement of Alexandria. For Clement,\* one of the most learned men of his day, of the same city as Ptolemy the astronomer, and of about the same date, speaking of the captivity of Jechoniah king of Judah, tells us that he was carried "captive to Babylon by Nebuchadnezzar the king in the seventh year of his reign over the Assyrians, in the second year of the reign of Vaphres over the Egyptians, in the archonship of Philippus (Phœnippus) at Athens, in the first year of the forty-eighth Olympiad," that is, in B.C. 588. Clement, therefore, thus places the first year of Apries in B.C. 589, and the first year of Nebuchadnezzar in 595. This reckoning at first sight seems to be admissible; for it just allows room for the twenty-nine years' siege of Ashdod by Psammetichus, spoken of so distinctly by Herodotus as one of the principal events of his reign,† which, if commenced at the time of his accession in 652, might have placed him in possession of that city in 623, and also allows room for the twenty-eight years of Scythian occupation of Asia before the fall of Nineveh,‡ which, if counted from 623, might bring the fall of Nineveh and first of Nebuchadnezzar to B.C. 595. For the Scythians we know found Psammetichus in possession of Ashdod on their arrival in Palestine, and we read that "Azotus, or Ashdod, and Ascalon feared" the army of the king of Assyria "greatly."|| This reckoning of Clement, however, will not bear the test of examination. For neither Cylinder B, of the foregoing annals, dated probably in the archonship of Belsunu, B.C. 647, nor Cylinder A, dated probably in 640, in the archonship of Samas-dain-ani (p. 321), make any allusion to this siege of Ashdod by Psammetichus; while we read in the history of the ninth expedition of Assurbanipal, B.C. 617, of the submission of the Arabians of Nabatea, of the punishment of Akko and Usu on the return of the Assyrians through Palestine (p. 299), without a word of allusion to Psammetichus or Ashdod; and in a tenth expedition, B.C. 645, spoken of in a fragment in the British Museum (which, however, Mr. Smith thinks may possibly belong to the reign of Esarhaddon, but which may refer to the reign of Assurbanipal), after mention of the siege

\* Clement Alex. Strom. 1. See Ante-Nicene Christian Library, Vol. iv, p. 434.

† Herod. ii, 157.

‡ Herod. i, 105.

|| Judith ii, 28.

of Tyre, in the reign of Baal, it is said that the king's army went from Muzur (Egypt) to Milukha (Ethiopia or upper Egypt), showing that the authority of Assurbanipal was neither yet so low in Egypt, nor that of Psammetichus yet so high, as to allow of the continuous siege of Ashdod so early as B.C. 645. If we may surmise that Psammetichus drove the king of Assyria out of Egypt in that year, and began to lay siege to Ashdod in 644, this fortress would have come into possession of Psammetichus in B.C. 615, and, allowing five years' occupation to the Egyptian king before the arrival of the Scythians, that is, till 610, the fall of Nineveh and the first of Nebuchadnezzar would have happened in B.C. 583, as I have already determined. Clement's date, therefore, is probably placed twelve years too high. Of this, however, we may be quite certain, that he knew of no sufficient authority for Ptolemy's date, B.C. 604, for the first year of Nebuchadnezzar, which must be looked upon as Ptolemy's own invention, and which is absolutely inadmissible. For if the Scythians entered Palestine twenty-eight years before 604, that is, in B.C. 632, room cannot be found for the twenty-nine years' siege of Ashdod after B.C. 652. I have frequently drawn attention to the worthlessness of the dates in Ptolemy's Canon attached to the reigns of Nebuchadnezzar and his successors at Babylon; and it must be borne in mind that Ptolemy's reckoning, though justly relied upon when supported by astronomical data, is not necessarily to be held in the same estimation when astronomical data are wanting, or, in fact, as in this instance, bearing against it. Both Ptolemy and Clement must be set down as incorrect as regards the date of the first year of Nebuchadnezzar; but we are indebted to Clement for confirming the synchronism of the first of Nebuchadnezzar with the last year of Necho II, which is in agreement with the interpretation of Josephus, and which is so clearly implied by Jeremiah where he writes,\*—"Pharaoh (Necho) and them that trust in him I will deliver into the hands of those who seek their lives, and into the hand of Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon."

Clement goes on to state,—“The captivity (that is of Jeconiah, in the 7th of Nebuchadnezzar, B.C. 588) lasted for seventy years, and

\* Compare Jerem. xxv, 1, with xlvi, 2, 26. Mr. Smith, I think, is incorrect in supposing that this passage applies to Pharaoh Hophra. Nebuchadnezzar was in Egypt when he heard of his father's death, in B.C. 581, after the battle of Carchemish.

ended in the second year of Darius Hystaspes, who had become king of the Persians, Assyrians, and Egyptians," that is, in B.C. 518, when Darius was about thirty-seven years of age. Now here it is that the whole system of Clement's chronology, as well as of the common scheme of reckoning, breaks down. For, *à fortiori*, if seventy years, counted from the 7th of Nebuchadnezzar, end in the reign of Darius Hystaspes, the "seventy years' desolations of Jerusalem," which began in the 19th of Nebuchadnezzar, and ended, as Daniel tells us, in the reign of "Darius the son of Ahasuerus of the seed of the Medes,"\* must have come to end in the reign of the same king, Darius Hystaspes. But this king, as Daniel tells us, took the throne of Babylon on the death of Belshazzar, when "about three score and two years old,"† that is, in the year B.C. 492, not when he was about thirty-seven years old in 518.

The true reckoning now comes out in perfect plainness, thus :—

Psammetichus and his son Necho II reign in succession	B.C.
for sixty-nine years and a half, till the 1st year of	652
Nebuchadnezzar, in association with his father, from	to 583
Nebuchadnezzar destroys Jerusalem in his 19th year after	
the death of his father . . . . .	563‡
Jerusalem remains desolate seventy full years, till Darius	
puts an end to the kingdom or satrapy of Babylon at	
the age of 62 § . . . . .	493
Seventy weeks of years, or 490 years, are counted from	
the first of Darius over Babylon to the birth of Christ,	
at the time when Cyrenius, or Quirinus, was governor	3
of Syria    . . . . .	

This is manifestly the true outline of chronology from the time of the accession of Psammetichus to the birth of Christ, and greatly supported by the Annals of Assurbanipal; while it is entirely subversive of the common reckoning, which is built upon many false foundations :—

1. On the assumption, that Psammetichus king of Egypt began to reign more than ten years before the expiration of the dodecarchy in Egypt, which cannot be true.

\* Dan. ix, 2.

† Dan. v, 31.

‡ This date is confirmed by Demetrius.

§ Darius died at the age of 72, according to Ctesias. He began to reign in B.C. 517, and completed 36 years.

|| As discovered by Dr. Zumpt.

2. On the adoption of the dates of Ptolemy the astronomer, in connexion with the reigns of Nebuchadnezzar and his successors at Babylon, dates unknown to Africanus, Clement of Alexandria, and Eusebius, and resting on no astronomical foundation.
3. On the assumption, that the battle fought by Alyattes king of Lydia in his sixth campaign against the Medes, and ended by a total solar eclipse, was fought in B.C. 610, or 603; that is, either five years before Alyattes came to the throne, or before he had reigned four years.
4. On the absurd assumption, that Astyages king of Media, who married a Lydian princess in the year of the eclipse, B.C. 585, was conquered by his grandson Cyrus king of Persia in B.C. 559, when Cyrus was 40 years of age.\*
5. On the assumption, that the record of the taking of Babylon by "Darius,"† in the Book of Daniel, is a record of the taking of Babylon by Cyrus.
6. On the assumption that king "Darius" who lived in the time of Daniel, was king Cyaxares.
7. On the assumption, that king Cambyses, who lived not long before the time of Ezra, was called by Ezra "Ahasuerus;" and that Bardes, or Gomates, the usurper in the days of Darius, was known to Ezra by the title "Artasheshtia."‡

I propose, on the other hand, to adhere strictly to the foregoing outline of chronology in what follows, and in doing so, I think it will be found that many apparently conflicting records in ancient history readily fall into place.

## II. AS REGARDS ASSYRIA.

Assurbanipal, as we have seen, was associated on the throne with his father Esarhaddon in May, B.C. 668, in which year his father died. He began, therefore, to reign alone in the year B.C. 667.

\* Hales' Chronology, Vol. i, p. 269.

† Herodotus speaks of Darius, son of Hystaspes, as king of the Medes.

‡ To the above contradictions may be added,—That the capture of Samaria by "Shalmanezzer," was the capture of Samaria by Sargon.

The exact duration of his reign cannot be gathered from the Assyrian records. But, by comparing these records with the Babylonian Canon and other sources of information, it may be inferred, with much probability, that he reigned forty-two years. From the foregoing history it appears that, on the death of Esarhaddon, whose principal residence was at Babylon, his younger son Saulmugina (the Sammughes of Polyhistor) had been left as viceroy on the throne of Babylon; and, according to the Babylonian Canon, he reigned there twenty years, till the year B.C. 648, when, being found in rebellion against his elder brother Assurbanipal, he was conquered at Babylon, and immediately burnt to death (163). Saulmugina is corruptly written in the Canon, Saosduchinus. Again, from the Babylonian Canon we learn that Kineladanus, who, according to Polyhistor, was brother of Sammuges, and therefore brother of Assurbanipal, or Assurbanipal himself,\* succeeded him at Babylon, and reigned twenty-two years, till the year B.C. 626; after which Nabopalassar came to the throne. The years of Nabopalassar we know are astronomically fixed, by an eclipse in his third year, as beginning in B.C. 625. (So that the two sons of Esarhaddon, who reigned in succession at Babylon, covered a period of exactly forty-two years, till the reign of Nabopalassar.)

Now, I have always maintained that Nabopalassar king of Babylon was also that king of Nineveh known to the Greeks by the title Sardanapalus, as indeed Polyhistor distinctly attests, when he relates that Sardanapalus having reigned twenty-one years married his son Nabuchodrosser to the daughter of Astyages;† and if we look to the list of Assyrian kings as given by Eusebius from Castor and Abydenus, we shall find it difficult to come to any other conclusion. For we there find the names of the three last kings of the Assyrian dynasty thus written :—

Aeraganes, who reigned	.. .. .	42 years.
Thonos Concoleros, or Sardanapalus	.. .. .	20 „
Ninus II (or Saraeus)	.. .. .	19 „

\* Mr. Smith identifies Kineladanus with Assurbanipal, p. 324. If so, he reigned 42 years.

† Probably a mistake for Astibares. Eupolemus writes:—"Itaque Nabuchodonosorem, Babyloniorum regem, ubi rem quomodo ab Hieremia prænuntiata fuerat rescivisset, Astibarem (= Cyaxarem in Ctesia) Medorum regem, uti hujus expeditionis socius esse vellet, obsecrasse: conjunctoque Babyloniorum et Medorum exercitu—Joachimum regem vivum cepisse."—Muller's Fragments, Vol. iii, p. 229.

Thus the immediate predecessor of Sardanapalus, called Aeraganes reigned forty-two years at Nineveh. Now, to assume that Aeraganes reigned after Assurbanipal, who certainly was still on the throne about B.C. 640, would be to bring down the fall of Nineveh, in the time of Saracus, some eighty years below that date, that is to say, to about B.C. 560, which is quite out of the question; and as he cannot be identified with Esarhaddon, we can only conclude that Assurbanipal and Aeraganes are one and the same king. Indeed Aeraganes appears to be merely a corruption from Assurbani, to which form the name of Assurbanipal was sometimes contracted. While this king, therefore, as eldest son of Esarhaddon, occupied the throne of Nineveh for forty-two years, till the time of Sardanapalus, his brother and himself occupied the throne of Babylon in succession for forty-two years, till the reign of Nabopalassar, who was called Sardanapalus. He reigned, therefore, from B.C. 668 to 626: the reign of his son Assur-ebil-ili being included probably in this last year, he having been associated with his father before his death.

To the great disturbance however, as I think, of the true history, it has been usual to identify Assurbanipal himself with Sardanapalus. Thus Professor Rawlinson writes,—“He was no doubt one of the two kings called Sardanapalus, celebrated by Hellanicus; he must have been the warlike Sardanapalus of Callisthenes.”\* This opinion is worthy of much respect, as having been adopted by the authorities of the British Museum, as indicated on the slabs brought from the palace of Assurbanipal. It may be observed, however, on the other hand, that as Callisthenes speaks of two kings called Sardanapalus, the one effeminate the other warlike,† so Herodotus also speaks of two kings, about the end of the seventh or beginning of the sixth century B.C., both bearing the same title Labynetus, the first of whom, for reasons hitherto unexplained, yielded up the reins of government, and allowed his kingdom to be administered by his wife Nitocris; the second, known as the great king of Babylon, son of Labynetus and Nitocris, against whom Cyrus the Persian, grandson of Astyages, called *the mule*, had commenced warlike preparations,‡ when, as Megasthenes relates, being seized with frenzy, he ascended the upper

\* Ancient Monarchies, Vol. ii, p. 502.

† Suidas, voce Sardanapales.

‡ Herod. i, 188.

terrace of his palace, forewarned the Babylonians of the coming of a *Persian mule* who should capture Babylon, and suddenly died. So also Jewish records speak of two great kings, both called Nabuchodonosor, the one who was forsaken by his allies, wanting in military capacity, and given to feasting and luxury, viz., "Nabuchodonosor who reigned at Nineveh,\* whose dependent provinces made light of his commands, and sent away his ambassadors from them without effect and with disgrace;" the other, the warlike Nebuchadnezzar, who together with Cyaxares, or Ahasuerus,† conquered Nineveh, likened by Megasthenes to Hercules, who conquered Tyre, Egypt, and Jerusalem, and established the Babylonian empire. These two pairs of unwarlike and warlike kings, called Labynetus and Nabuchodonosor, can only be identified with the Nabopalassar and his son Nabuchodrossor of the Chaldean historians; and as it would be unreasonable to imagine three pairs of kings, bearing the same titles, living within the same range of time, and distinguished by the same characteristics of effeminacy and valour, there can be no question that Polyhistor is correct, and that Sardanapalus the effeminate represents Nabopalassar the father of Nebuchadnezzar, and Sardanapalus the warlike, the warlike Nebuchadnezzar himself; and that Labynetus, or Nabo-netzar, the husband of Nitocris, and Nabuchodonosor who reigned at Nineveh, are one and the same king. But again, this is exactly what Abydenus and Castor have told us, when they name the other title by which Sardanapalus was known. The most corrupt and incomprehensible form of the title is Thonos Concoleros, the least corrupt form perhaps being Makoscoleros, as written by Syncellus.‡ Now, "Mako," I conceive to be merely a corruption of Nabo; and Nabosconcoleros no one can doubt would be a corruption of Nabuchodoneros, or Nabuchodonosor.

Thus Assurbanipal, or Acraganes, who reigned forty-two years, was predecessor of Sardanapalus, not Sardanapalus himself; and Sardanapalus, or Nabopalassar, reigned twenty years over Nineveh. Thus also, the chronology of the empire of Assyria is brought down with distinctness to the year B.C. 606, the last year of the reign of Nabopalassar, or Sardanapalus. And as during the reigns of Sargon, Sennacherib, Esarhaddon, Assurbanipal, and Saracus, Nineveh and

\* Judith i, 1, 11.

† Tobit xiv, 15.

‡ Syncellus Dind. Vol. i, p. 390.

Babylon formed parts of the same empire, so Nabopalassar, though fixing his palace at Babylon, like Esarhaddon, is properly described, as in the Book of Judith, as reigning at Nineveh.

The history now becomes somewhat obscure. Nevertheless, it lies before us, if we are willing to put together the scattered threads which have been preserved. For we learn from Cleitarchus that "Sardanapalus died of old age, after having been deprived of the empire of Syria," that is, Assyria. It was not he, therefore, that burned himself in his own palace. Aristobulus\* informs us that Sardanapalus was buried at Ankiale, near Tarsus, and that the inscription on his tomb declared that he was descended from Anacynnderaxes, or Anabaxares, both probably corruptions of Sennacherib. He may have been descended, therefore, through a female line from Esarhaddon and Sennacherib: and so claimed the empire of right on the death of Assur-ebil-ili. And this is the meaning of a peculiar expression used by Abydenus, who, after speaking of Axerdis or Esarhaddon, writes,—"hinc Sardanapalus exortus est." That he was still alive as late as B.C. 585, we know from Herodotus, who says that it was "Labynetus of Babylon,"—he does not say king—who with Syennesis of Cilicia brought about peace between the Medes and Lydians in that year, which well accords with the fact of his residence at Tarsus: and from Berosus we learn, that at the time of the fall of Nineveh (583) he was incapable of heading his own army, which he placed under his son Nebuchadnezzar. All this, again, is perfectly consistent with the fact that his wife Nitocris was reigning at Babylon when Nineveh was finally overthrown in that year.—

Now what we wish to know is, what was doing at Nineveh during the twenty-four years from 606 to 583, while Sardanapalus, or Nabopalassar was taking his ease at Tarsus, and while Nitocris was holding the reins of government at Babylon.

If we turn to Agathias, who follows the history of Ctesias, he tells us, that it was Arbaces† the Mede, and Belesus the Babylonian, son of Delcetades, who deprived Sardanapalus of the empire (in B.C. 606): and from Abydenus we learn that Saracus, who must have

\* The several passages may be conveniently referred to in Clinton's *Fast. Hell.*, Vol. i, 275.

† We know of no king of Media at this time called Arbaces. Possibly Belesus the Babylonian may have been prefect of Arbaka.

succeeded Belesus, was in possession—he does not say how—of the throne of Nineveh, when Nebuchadnezzar and Cyaxares conquered that city, and when Saracus, not Sardanapalus, burned himself in his palace (in B.C. 583). Now, with regard to the fall of Assyria, it has been customary to suppose that the son of Assurbanipal, whose name is written Bel-ebil-eli, was the last king of Nineveh. But it has been conjectured that he had two successors, Bel-ziker-iskun (or Bel-sum-iskun), and a son and successor of Bel-ziker-iskun, whose name is supposed to be lost, and who was probably the monarch under whom Nineveh was destroyed.

This conjecture may not unlikely prove to be the truth. For who is Bel-sum-(iskun) “king of Assyria,”\* but Belesus, son of Delcetades of Ctesias? and who is his son, whose name is said to be lost, but (Nergal)-Sharezar, or Saracus, who, on a tablet in the British Museum, announces himself to be son of Bel-sum-iskun, “king of Babylon,”\* and who has hitherto been supposed to be quite another king.†

The succession, therefore, of kings at Nineveh, was thus:—

Assurbanipal, or Acraganes, and Assur-ebil-ili . . . . .	}	reign 42 years, from B.C. 668		
Nabopalassar, or Sardanapalus, Nabuchodonosor, or Labynetus, husband of Nitocris . . . . .		, , 20 , , 625		
The Scythians obtain supremacy in Asia for 28 years . . . . .				610
They make peace with Psammetichus in . . . . .				608
Bel-sum-iskun, or Belesus, and his son Saracus, or Nergal- Sharezar, as tributaries to Scythia . . . . .	}	reign 22 years, from B.C. 605?		
Nabopalassar and Nitocris, after the fall of Nineveh . . . . .		, , 2 , , 583		
Nebuchadnezzar . . . . .		, , 43 , , 581		

This is obviously the true outline of the history: and we find accordingly that it was well understood by Herodotus, Abydenus, and the writer of the Book of Judith, and that together they have given us all the necessary leading dates connected with it. No reasonable person can doubt that Herodotus and the writer of Judith

\* Mr. Smith (p. 323) has placed Bilzikeriskun between Tiglath-Pileser and Sennacherib. But who then is Nergal-Sharezar?

† See Cuneiform Inscriptions, Vol. i, p. 8, No. VI.

had the same history before them, when they wrote concerning the last days of Nineveh. Herodotus relates that a certain king of Nineveh *slew Phraortes the Mede* in battle :\* that a few years after Cyaxares the Mede came up against Nineveh to avenge his father's death :† that *the allies of Assyria held themselves aloof* : that Cyaxares was the king who afterwards made peace with the Lydians at the time of the eclipse of B.C. 585 : that Nineveh was saved on this occasion by an army of Scythians : that the Scythians soon after they had conquered the Medes *led their forces towards Egypt*, and were met by Psammetichus king of Egypt in Palestine, *who purchased peace* : that on their return, the Scythians plundered *Ascalon* : and that they remained masters of Asia for twenty-eight years, till the fall of Nineveh. In the Book of Judith we read, that Nabuchodonosor (Nabopalassar, whose reign is fixed by an eclipse) “who reigned at Nineveh,” in his 12th year (B.C. 614) *slew Arphaxad king of the Medes* in battle : that not long after *he was forsaken of his allies* : that in his 18th year (B.C. 608) he sent an army of 120,000 footmen, and 12,000 cavalry, by the way of Damascus, and Tyre, and Sidon *into Palestine*, “and they that dwelt in Azotus, or Ashdod, and Ascalon feared him greatly : and they sent ambassadors unto him (the general Holofernes) *to treat of peace* :” that Joakim, or Eliakim, the aged high priest,‡ was then still ruling in Jerusalem (B.C. 608, being the ninth year of the reign of the young king Josiah) : and that Judith, after slaying Holofernes, lived to the 105th year, (*i.e.* of the captivity of the ten tribes) till B.C. 591. Neither of these histories, however, gives the exact time of the entry of the Scythians into power, from which to calculate twenty-eight years to the fall of Nineveh. But here Abydenus comes in with a remarkably exact date, showing that he had the same history before him as Herodotus and the writer of Judith. For, after enumerating the several kings of Assyria down to Sardanapalus, he writes concerning this last king—“qui omnium extremus fuit : a quo ad primum Olympiadem 67 (*read* 167) anni putantur”§—that is, from the year B.C. 610, inclusive, to B.C. 776.

\* Herod. i, 102.

† Herod. i, 103.

‡ Son of Hilkiah, Isaiah xxii, 22.

§ Enseb. Chron. i, xiii, p. 36. Mr. Clinton, Vol. i, p. 273, assumes that Abydenus has here contradicted himself to the extent of more than 230 years, which is highly improbable.

Thus the supremacy of the Scythians in Asia, which began before the expulsion of Sardanapalus from Nineveh by Belsumiskun, is dated with precision in B.C. 610, and lasted for twenty-eight years, till the time when Saracus, or Sharezar, son of Belsumiskun, was conquered by the Medes and Babylonians in B.C. 583. Abydenus then counts 1,280 years upwards from 610, inclusive, to the time of the Chaldean dynasty of Ninus and Semiramis, leading up to the year B.C. 1889: and Ctesias counts 1,306 years from 583, leading up from the overthrow of Nineveh by the Medes and Babylonians to Ninus and Semiramis, which brings us again to the same date, B.C. 1889.

This series of dates is consistent, accurate, and complete. When Berosus, therefore, as quoted by Josephus, places the first year of Nebuchadnezzar after a twenty-nine years' reign of Nabopalassar in Babylon, he is reckoning from the time when the establishment of Scythian supremacy left him only his tributary position at Babylon: and when Ctesias affirms that Nineveh was destroyed in the time of Sardanapalus, he is in fact stating the truth, though mistaken in supposing that it was Sardanapalus, instead of Saracus, who destroyed himself in his palace.

The recovery, thus made, of the date of the Chaldean dynasty of Ninus and Semiramis, B.C. 1889, leads again to the recovery of the true date of the invasion of Assyria by Pul the Chaldean. For Berosus tells us that after three successive dynasties at Nineveh, that is to say, of—

49 Chaldean kings, who reigned	.. ..	458 years
9 Arabian kings	.. ..	145* „
45 Assyrian kings	.. ..	526 „
		<hr/>
		1,129 years

there arose a Chaldean king called Phul, who invaded the Assyrian empire and subjugated it to the Chaldees. Now Phul, without question, is “Pul king of Assyria,” who “came against the land: and Menahem gave Pul 1,000 talents of silver to confirm the kingdom to his hand” (2 Kings xv, 19). If Pul, therefore, began

\* The figure in the original is 245, making 1,229 years, instead of 1,129. If that figure is retained, the 1,280 years of Castor and Abydenus must be altered to 1,380, and the 1,306 of Ctesias to 1,406. I prefer to alter 245 into 145.

to reign 1,129 years after Ninus and Semiramis, in B.C. 1889, his first year must have been B.C. 760: and as the reign of Tiglath-Pileser is fixed, by means of the eclipse at Nineveh in 763, to the year B.C. 745, the reign of Pul must have fallen between the years 760 and 745. Now, according to my reckoning, that is the reckoning of Demetrius,\* the year 760 is the 26th year of Uzziah, and the last year of Jeroboam king of Israel, and it is the third year after the eclipse of June, B.C. 763: and with reference to this eclipse the prophet Amos writes—"And it shall come to pass in that day, saith the Lord God, that I will cause the sun to go down at noon, and I will darken the earth in the clear day" (Amos viii, 9): and again, "Thus Amos saith, Jeroboam shall die by the sword, and Israel shall surely be led away captive out of their own land" (vii, 11). Accordingly, it was in the year 760 that "the God of Israel stirred up the spirit of Pul king of Assyria, and the spirit of Tiglath-Pileser, and he carried them away, even the Reubenites and the Gadites," &c. (1 Chron. v, 26), and when Jeroboam must have died by the sword.

The chronology of the Assyrian empire, therefore, may thus be collected:—

Elamite, or Median, domination,	lasted 224 years, from B.C. 2287		
Eleven kings .. .. .	„ (175) „ „	2062	
From Ninus and Semiramis ..	„ 458 „ „	1889	
Arabian invasion .. .. .	„ 145 „ „	1431	
Assyrian empire from Ninippalzara	„ 526 „ „	1286	
Invasion of Pul the Chaldean	„ 15 „ „	760	
Restoration of the Assyrian empire under Tiglath-Pileser } and his successors .. .. }	„ 135 „ „	745 †	
Invasion of the Seythians ..	„ 28 „ „	610	
Final destruction of Nineveh } and empire of the Medes .. }	„ „	583	

From the foregoing reasoning, I submit that two things may be inferred with absolutely certainty—

- 1st. That the Median empire, after the fall of Nineveh, did not begin till after the year B.C. 585.

\* See p. 365.

† Fixed by the eclipse recorded at Nineveh in B.C. 763, eighteen years before his accession. The path of this eclipse, as calculated by Mr. Hind, is given as frontispiece to "Messiah the Prince."

2nd. That since Cyaxares king of Media was still reigning in 585, and Astyages his son married the daughter of Alyattes in that year, and was on the throne at least forty years after that date, the conquest of the Medes by the Persians, and the establishment of the supremacy of the latter, did not take place under Cyrus so early as B.C. 559 : nor probably till the year B.C. 538, that is to say, till after the traditional date of the fall of Astyages, B.C. 539, as preserved by Syncellus both in the astronomical and the ecclesiastical canons.

I would earnestly suggest, therefore, to historians to take into consideration the impossibility of maintaining the reckoning of Herodotus when treating of the times of the Median and Persian empires, which is at variance with the one leading date which he has been the means of preserving to us : and that they should give heed to the histories of Ctesias and Xenophon, which are found in harmony with that date, but which are too frequently set aside as mere romance.

Astronomers also will permit me to point out that they are apparently wasting their strength, while endeavouring to rectify the theory of the moon's secular acceleration on the assumption that the siege of Larissa, which happened when the Medes were conquered by the Persians, took place so early as the year B.C. 557, and assuming as the fundamental point in their calculations that the shadow of the solar eclipse of that year must have passed centrally over that city.\* While theologians will excuse me, if I entreat them no longer to make void and unintelligible the most gracious of all gracious revelations ever vouchsafed to man from heaven, by continuing to uphold the untenable contradiction, that the prophet Daniel when speaking of the great king "Darius," who took the government of Babylon in hand when about sixty-two years of age, and from whose reign are counted the "weeks" of years "unto Messiah the Prince," was speaking of some Median king bearing quite another title, or of any other king than the well known king Darius, son of Hystaspes.†

\* See Philosophical Transactions, 1853. Sir John Herschel's Astronomy, p. 685 ; and Hansen's Lunar and Solar Tables.

† See the last two, and most learned, commentaries on the Book of Daniel, by Dr. Pusey, and the present Bishop of Lincoln.

## III.—AS REGARDS LYDIA.

Concerning the chronology of the kings of Lydia, two dates may be considered as fixed with almost absolute certainty. First, that Gyges, the successor of Candaules, began to reign in the year B.C. 704-3, in the first year of the 19th Olympiad. Second, that Alyattes began to reign in the year B.C. 605-4. The interval between these two reigns is exactly ninety-nine years, which in our present copies of Herodotus is thus filled up :—

Gyges reigns	..	..	..	..	38 years.
Ardys	..	..	..	..	49 "
Sadyattes	..	..	..	..	12 "
					<hr/> 99 years.

As regards the first of these dates, Pliny records that Candaules died in the course of the 18th Olympiad = B.C. 708-4 : and Clement of Alexandria, that Gyges began to reign after the 18th Olympiad, that is in B.C. 704-3. As regards the second, the accession of Alyattes is fixed by the Parian Chronicle to the year B.C. 605-4.

The interval between the time of the accession of Gyges and the reign of Alyattes has been filled up by Eusebius almost according to fancy : thus—

CHRONICLE OF EUSEBIUS.*				CANON OF EUSEBIUS.		SYNCELLUS.
	PART I.	PART II.				
Gyges ..	35 years.	36	..	36	..	36
Ardys ..	37 "	48	..	38	..	38
Sadyattes ..	5 "	15	..	15	..	15
<hr/> 77 years.		<hr/> 99		<hr/> 89		<hr/> 89

In the uncertainty produced by these several variations, showing the very wavering character of this portion of the chronology of Eusebius, the Annals of Assurbanipal come to our assistance with much precision to rectify his dates. For, as I have already shown (p. 342), Psammetichus fled to the court of Gyges in the year B.C. 655-4, and Gyges, who favoured his revolt against Assyria, also died in that same year. Gyges, therefore, must have reigned forty-nine years, from B.C. 703 to 655, not thirty-six years as given by Eusebius, nor thirty-eight years as in our present copies of Herodotus. It is clear, therefore, that either Herodotus, or more

\* Armenian copy. Aucher.

probably his copyist, had reversed the figures attached to the regnal years of Gyges and his son Ardys, which should be written forty-nine for the first, and thirty-eight for the second, producing after correction the following chronology of the kingdom of Lydia :—

Gyges	reigns	49	years, from	B.C. 703
Ardys	„	38	„	654
Sadyattes	„	12	„	616
Alyattes	„	57	„	604
Crœsus	„	14	„	548
				to
				534

And thus the conquest of Crœsus falls, as it should do, not many years after the establishment of the supremacy of the Persians over the Medes, which, as I have said, took place in the year B.C. 538, on the death of Astyages, who was buried with kingly honours by his son-in-law Cyrus father of Cambyses, who took the throne of Ecbatana in B.C. 538, and established the empire of the Persians.

#### IV. AS REGARDS JUDÆA.

From the foregoing history of Assurbanipal, following chiefly the outline laid down in Cylinder A, we learn that in his first expedition he drove Tirhakah, king of Egypt and Ethiopia, out of Egypt, and established the dodecarchy in B.C. 668-7 (p. 15).

That in his second expedition against Egypt, after the death of Tirhakah, he drove Rudammon, or Urdumane, stepson of Tirhakah, out of Egypt, in B.C. 656 (p. 52).

That in his third expedition he besieged Tyre: and that the date of that year is fixed as being that of the death of Gyges, king of Lydia, and the accession of Ardys, = B.C. 655-4 (p. 58):

That his fourth expedition (Cylinder B) was directed against the city of Karbit, beyond the Tigris to the east, when the population of Karbit was transported into Egypt: before Psammetichus, there-fore had become established sole king of Egypt: in B.C. 654 (p. 79).

That in his following year (p. 100, Cylinder B) he invaded Elam: where he killed the king of Elam, and Teumman set upon the

That in his fifth expedition Teumman was slain, and Ummanigas and Tammарitu were placed on the thrones of Elam and Hidalu; after which Saulnugina his brother, viceroy of Babylon, revolted, in the year when Assur-dur-uzur was archon eponymous at Nineveh, B.C. 652-1 (pp. 110, 151).

And—which is a point to be carefully observed—that after the elevation of Ummanigas and Tammарitu, in B.C. 652, Assurbanipal despatched an envoy to Elam to demand the restoration of the image of Nana, which had been carried off to Shushan by Kudurnanlundi, 1635 years before that time, that is in  $(1635 + 652 = )$  B.C. 2287 (p. 200).

The result of these wars in Elam was the entire wasting and depopulation of that country, and the destruction of Shushan: \* and now it was, we may assume, that Assurbanipal began to transport the population of Elam into the vacant cities of Samaria, which had been laid waste by Sargon, Shalmanezzer, and Sennacherib, though tributary kings of Assyrian appointment had still continued to reign in that kingdom. The transportation of the Elamites was probably soon followed by that of the Babylonians and Susanchites, who, we have seen, were associated in revolt with Elam, and were conquered, and severely punished.

We find from the cylinders of Esarhaddon that Abibahal was king of Samaria as late as B.C. 673, and, together with Manasseh king of Judah, gave tribute to Esarhaddon; but before the year B.C. 646, according to Mr. Smith, an Assyrian governor is named as having been placed over Samaria, showing that the kingdom had then entirely ceased, and the country had become incorporated with Assyria. Now Isaiah, speaking in the first or second year of the reign of Ahaz, had said: “Within three score and five years shall Ephraim be broken, that it be not a people” (Isaiah vii. 8): and if we count sixty-five years upwards from the conquest of Teumman and the Elamites, in B.C. 652, we come to the year B.C. 717, which, according to the reckoning of Demetrius, is the second year of Ahaz. Again, the Seder Olam Rabbah, or great chronicle of the Jews (ch. xiv), places the carrying away of Manasseh to Babylon by the


\* It is interesting to find here distinct notice of the river U'lai near Shushan, referred to by Daniel viii, 2, the existence of which has been doubted (p. 111).

king of Assyria in the 22nd year of Manasseh : and this 22nd of Manasseh, according to Demetrius, is B.C. 652. So that it appears that in that year an exchange of population between Palestine and the kingdoms of Elam and Babylonia had taken place, in conformity with the policy adopted by the kings of Assyria from the time of Tiglath-Pileser. Ezra refers to this migration of captives, when, in transcribing a letter from the people of Samaria to Darius, in later days, he alludes to the "Archevites, or people of Warka in Babylonia, the Babylonians, the Susanchites, the Dehavites, and the Elamites, and the rest of the nations whom the great and noble Asnappar brought over and set in the cities of Samaria" (Ezra iv, 9, 10).

With regard to the title Asnappar, for Assurbanipal, it must be observed that the letter from the Samaritans which Ezra transcribes is written, not in Hebrew, but in the Aramaic language, and that the last syllable "pal," which signifies son in Assyrian, would properly be written "bar," or "par," which signifies son, in Aramaic. So that the name of the Assyrian king, which if written in full would have been Assur-bani-par,\* had become contracted in course of time by the Samaritan mixed population brought from Babylonia and Elam, into the form transcribed by Ezra.

I have observed that the time of this transportation of captives in B.C. 652, from Elam to Samaria falls in correctly with the reckoning of Demetrius, who wrote a history of the kings of Judæa about the year B.C. 222 ; and, as I believe that he who adopts the reckoning of Demetrius has the key to the interpretation both of Assyrian and Hebrew chronology in his hands, it may not be unuseful if I here set out the reigns of the kings of Judah and Israel, with their dates, as derived from an abstract of dates from Demetrius, preserved by Clement of Alexandria, concerning the captivities of Judah and Israel, and compare them with the Assyrian Canon.

"Demetrius, in his book on the kings of Judæa," writes Clement, "says that the tribes of Judah, Benjamin, and Levi were not taken captive by Sennacherib ; but that from this captivity, (that is from the *first* carrying away of captives from the land of Judah in B.C. 688) to the *last* which Nabuchodonosor made out of Jerusalem (Jerem. lii, 30),

\* Dr. Haigh considers that the second element of the name,  bani, may also represent, na.

there were a hundred and twenty-eight years and six months; and from the time that the ten tribes were carried captive from Samaria till the fourth Ptolemy were five (*read* four) hundred and seventy-three years, nine months; and that from the time that the (last) captivity from Jerusalem took place, three hundred and thirty-eight years and three months."\*

## DEMETRIUS COMPARED WITH THE ASSYRIAN CANON.

RECKONING OF DEMETRIUS.				B.C.	PART OF ASSYRIAN CANON.	B.C.
B.C.	KINGS OF JUDAH.	B.C.	KINGS OF ISRAEL.			
					<i>End of 1st Soss</i>	1028
993	Solomon .. <sup>YEARS.</sup> 40				Divided into Sosses, or periods of 60 years.	
					<i>End of 2nd Soss</i>	968
953	Rehoboam 17	953	Jeroboam <sup>YEARS.</sup> 22	..	..	
936	Abijah .. 3		..	..	..	
933	Asa .. .. 41	933	Nadab .. 2	..	..	
..	..	..	Baasha .. 24	..	..	
..	..		..	928	Vul-nirari .. .. 20	
..	..		..	908	Tukulti-Ninip .. 3	
..	..	907	Elah .. } 2	..	..	
			Zimri .. }		<i>End of 3rd Soss</i>	908
..	..	906	Omri .. 12	..	..	
..	..	894	Ahab .. 22	902	Assur-nazir-pal .. 28	
..	..	..	..	..	..	
892	Jehoshaphat 25	..	..	..	..	
..	..	..	..	877	Shalmaneser II. .. 35	
..	..	872	Ahaziah 2	..	..	872†
..	..	871	Joram .. 11-12	..	..	
868	Jehoram .. 7-8	..	..	..	..	
861	Ahaziah .. 1	..	..	..	..	
860	Athaliah .. 6	860	Jehu .. 27-28	..	..	860‡
854	Joash .. 40	..	..	..	..	
					<i>End of 4th Soss</i>	848

\* Clem. Alex. Strom. 1

† Shalmaneser in his 6th year conquers Benhadad, supported by troops of Ahab.

‡ Shalmaneser in his 18th year takes tribute of Jehu, and fights with Hazael.

DEMETRIUS COMPARED WITH THE ASSYRIAN CANON—*continued.*

RECKONING OF DEMETRIUS.				B.C.	PART OF ASSYRIAN CANON.	B.C.
B.C.	KINGS OF JUDAH.	B.C.	KINGS OF ISRAEL.			
	YEARS		YEARS.			
..	..	..	..	..	Beginning of a <i>Cycle</i> *	847
..	..	..	..	842	[Assurdaninpal † <sup>YEARS.</sup> 19]?	
..	..	832	Jehoahaz 17	..	Samsi-vul III. ..	13
..	..	815	Jehoash 16-15	..	..	..
814	Amaziah .. 29	..	..	810	Vul-nirari ..	29
..	..	800	Jeroboam 41	..	<i>Cycle</i> (karru) 5th <i>Soss</i> ‡	788
..	..	..	..	..	Nebo enters his new temple	787
785	Uzziah .. 52	..	..	..	Shalmanuzur ..	10
..	..	..	..	781	Assurdayan ..	18
..	..	..	..	771	<i>Solar Eclipse</i> §	763
..	..	759	Interregnum 12	..	Assur-nirari ..	8
..	..	..	..	753	Tiglath-Pileser ..	22
..	..	747	Menahem 10	745	In association with Shalmanezar and Sargon ..	11
..	..	736	Pekahiah 2	..	<i>End of 6th Soss</i>	728
..	..	734	Pekah .. 20	..	..	..
734	Jotham .. 16	..	..	..	..	..
..	..	..	..	723	Shalmanezar ..	..
..	..	..	..	722	Sargon ..	17
718	Ahaz .. 16	..	..	..	..	..
..	..	714	Interregnum 9	..	..	..
..	..	705	Hoshea 9	705	Sennacherib ..	24
702	Hezekiah .. 29	..	..	..	..	..
..	..	696	——— Captivity of the Ten Tribes 473 years 9 months before the IV <sup>th</sup> Ptolemy, Nov. B.C. 222.	..	Sennacherib carries away captives from Judæa	688 ¶
..	..	..	..	680	Esarhaddon ..	13
673	Manassch 55	..	..	668	Assurbanipal ..	42
..	..	..	..	..	<i>End of 7th Soss</i>	668

\* Shalmanezar inaugurates a Cycle in his 31st year. Annals of Shalmanezar II.

† Assurdaninpal, who usurped the throne, is omitted from the Assyrian Canon. By allowing nineteen years to this reign, the interval of sixty years between two cycles is made up. See the acts of this king in Oppert's *Histoire des empire de Chaldée et d'Assyrie*, p. 123.

‡ 23rd year of Vulnirari marked as a Cycle in the Canon.

§ 9th year of Assurdayan marked by a Solar Eclipse in Sivan (15th June, 763).

This date is found upon ancient gravestones in the Crimea.—See Professor Chwolson's treatise on these stones, "*Memoirs of the Imperial Academy of Science*," St. Petersburg, 1865.

¶ Demetrius.

RECKONING OF DEMETRIUS—*continued.*

B.C.	KINGS OF JUDAH.	B.C.	KINGS OF ISRAEL.	B.C.	KINGS OF ASSYRIA.	B.C.
..	..	652	People of Elam, Shu- shan, and Babylonia transported to Sa- maria, within 65 years from the 1st of Ahaz. Ezra iv, 10. Isaiah vii, 8.		Image of Nana reclaimed by Assurbanipal .. ..	652
					After 2 Ners = 1200 years 7 Sosses = 420 " 15 years = 15 "	
					1635 years*	
618	Amon .. 2	..	..	625	Sardanapalus or Nabo- palassar .. .. 20	
616	Josiah .. 31				<i>End of 8th Soss</i>	608
				605	[Bel-sum-iskun] (?)	
					Saracus	
585	Jehoiahaz <sup>m.</sup> 3			581	1st Nebuchadnezzar 43	
574	Jechoniah 3					
573	Zedekiah 11					
563	Temple of Jerusalem destroyed.	..	..	563	19th Nebuchadnezzar	
560	Last transportation of captives by Ne- buchadnezzar 338 years 3 months before the IV <sup>th</sup> Ptolemy, Nov. B.C. 222.					
			KINGS OF PERSIA.			
		559	Cyrus father of Cambyses 29		<i>End of 9th Soss</i>	548
		538	succeeds Astyages Babylon taken by Cyrus son of Cam- byses, his father and grandfather being still alive, about B.C. 536.	538	Evilmerodach 3	
	Jerusalem remains seventy years in a state of desola- tion, till the 1st year of Darius. (Dan. ix, 1).	536	Cambyses † 18	536	Nabonadius, local king 17	
		520	Cyrus son of Cambyses	495	Belshazzar son of Nabonadius	
		517	Darius 36	492	Darius son of Hystaspes *	
492	Darius † son of Hystaspes	..	..		<i>End of 10th Soss</i>	488
		493	Artaxerxes (Xerxes)			

\* See p. 251.

† Darius "took the kingdom being about three score and two years old."—Dan. v, 31.

‡ Cyrus associates his son Cambyses with him in B.C. 536, when Darius is about 60 years old (Herod. i, 108). Cyrus therefore says that he is 2 years old (from the birth of Cambyses) when he takes the kingdom in B.C. 518, spending the last 2 years of his reign in Persia.

§ Artaxerxes (Xerxes) took the kingdom of Persia 10 years before the death of Darius, 31

§ Jerem. xxxix, 3

¶ Darius took the kingdom of Assyria 10 years before the death of Darius.

Thus the Books of Daniel and Ezra, which as we have seen\* are incomprehensible as regards their chronology according to the common reckoning, become intelligible when interpreted in connexion with the reckoning of Demetrius. For the year in which "Darius the Median took the kingdom," (that is, put down the turbulent satrapy of Babylon, and took the government of Babylon and Assyria into his own hands) when about sixty-two years' old, is found to be the year B.C. 492, when Darius the son of Hystaspes was actually about that age. And from the LXX version of Daniel we find that Artaxerxes (or Xerxes) first came to the throne of Persia in association with his father Darius in that same year. *Καὶ Ἀρταξέρξης ὁ τῶν Μήδων παρέλαβε τὴν βασιλείαν, καὶ Δαρείος πλήρης τῶν ἡμερῶν καὶ ἔνδοξος ἐν γήρει.* While Ezra, speaking of the rebuilding of the temple of Jerusalem in the time of Darius son of Hystaspes, records how "Ahasuerus," that is Xerxes, "*in the beginning of his reign*,"—the common phrase applied to the time preceding his actual reign—was appealed to to stop the building, and how it was "builded and finished" in the sixth year of Darius, that is B.C. March 486, "by the commandment of Darius and Artaxerxes king of Persia": four years after the battle of Marathon, when Darius had, as Herodotus tells us, placed Xerxes on the throne as king, and when according to Ezra he must have assumed the title Artaxerxes (Ezra vi, 14, 15). But it has been objected that Daniel, according to this view, "gives the monarch a wrong parentage (Ahasuerus instead of Hystaspes) and a wrong nationality (Median instead of Persian).† Here is a difficulty which must not be slurred over too hastily. Ahasuerus, as I have said, represents Xerxes in the Book of Ezra: and Xerxes we know was son of Darius Hystaspes, not his father. How then could Daniel, who knew the parentage of Darius, call him son of Xerxes, which is not true? The LXX translation affords, perhaps, some clue towards the solution of the difficulty, where we read (ch. ix, 1), *"Ετους πρώτου ἐπὶ Δαρείου τοῦ Ξερξῶν, ἀπο τῆς γενεᾶς τῆς Μηδικῆς, οἱ ἐβασίλευσαν ἐπὶ τὴν βασιλείαν πῶν Χαλδαίων.* The words *οἱ ἐβασίλευσαν* are significant. For, the two kings, Darius and Xerxes, we have seen, had already become associated on the throne together, according to the LXX, as early as the year B.C. 492: and we here read that they

\* See p. 351.

† Chronology of the reign of Sennacherib, p. 16.

were conjointly reigning over the Chaldeans, after Belshazzar's death. We might, therefore, be disposed to cut the matter short,, and laying blame on the copyist, assume that the original reading of the passage was not "in the first year of Darius son of Ahasuerus," but in the first year of Darius *and* Ahasuerus, that is, of Darius and Xerxes. This is in fact the truth as regards time. And with regard to the nationality of the king, as Larcher observes, "Herodotus and the greater part of the ancient writers, almost always comprehend the Persians under the name of Medes." Even as late as the Peloponnesian war, the Greeks who favoured the Persian cause were said to Medize.

Nevertheless, I do not think that this is what Daniel intended to express. Both Daniel and Demetrius lead us to look towards the latter part of the reign of Darius for the time when he took the government of Babylon into his own hands, when we know from Herodotus that a great revolution had taken place in his dominions, in which the satrapies of Ionia and Babylon were involved, and when probably it was sought to set up again the Assyrian empire under a Median prince.\* For the Medes were restless under the Persians, and more than one pretender to the throne in the early part of the reign of Darius we know, from the inscription at Behistun, had set up his claim as "of the race of Uwakshatara," or Cyaxares the Mede. I am inclined, therefore, to think that Daniel here intends to put forward the title of Darius to be called "king of Assyria,"† as in some way connected with, or descended from Cyaxares who overthrew the empire of Assyria; that is to say, as the true representative of Ahasuerus, or Cyaxares II, who was son of Astyages. Herodotus we know had never heard of this prince. Xenophon, however, has given a full account of him. He was no doubt the Ahasuerus of the Book of Esther, who married Hadassah, or 'Atossa the Jewish captive. Now Darius Hystaspes also undoubtedly married a princess named 'Atossa, and we have no reason to doubt that 'Atossa was widow of Cambyses. But when Herodotus, unable to account for her royal extraction, calls her the sister as well as wife of Cambyses, we are not bound to believe him. 'Atossa was probably the daughter of Ahasuerus and Hadassah, and so, as in the parallel instance, David son of Saul,‡ "Darius son of Ahasuerus of the seed of the Medes," truly signifies

\* Herod. i, 130; iii, 150.

† Ezra vi, 22.

‡ 1 Samuel xxiv, 16.

Darius Hystaspes, son-in-law, and representative of, Cyaxares the Mede.\* Any supposition seems to be preferable to the idea that "Darius son of Ahasuerus" was Cyaxares son of Astyages.† Whatever the true solution of the difficulty may be, as regards title, there can be no question as to the chronology.

With regard to the time of the death of Belshazzar, who we now know was the son of Nabonadius, I am not aware of any ancient authority for placing the revolt of this king earlier than in the reign of Darius Hystaspes. The Chronicle of Tabari records that, after the death of Kai-Khosru (Cyrus), Lohrasp (Cambyses) took the throne; that Gushtasp (Darius Hystaspes) succeeded him; and that in the reign of Gushtasp, a general named Coresh, governor of 'Irâq, was sent against Nebuchodonosor (Nabonadius) who ruled at Babylon, and that, having captured this prince, he sent him to Balk. After this Coresh took the throne of Babylon, and immediately released the children of Israel from captivity.‡ According to this account, therefore, no revolt of Belshazzar, son of Nabonadius, could have taken place earlier than the reign of Gushtasp.

Xenophon tells us that Cyrus took Babylon for the first time in the reign of the Persians, when Cambyses his father was reigning in Persia, and Cyrus himself not yet a king. I believe that he took the city a second time during his father's life, though of this we have no record in Herodotus or Xenophon. Orosius, however, writes—"Babylon for the last time was overthrown by King Cyrus, when Rome for the first time was freed from the tyranny of the Tarquin kings,"§ that is about B.C. 510. This date we know falls within the reign of Darius Hystaspes, but it is at least ten years too low. Abydenus, copying probably from Berosus, tells us that when Cyrus took Babylon and captured Nabonadius, he gave him the principality of Carmania, and that "Darius the king drove him from that province."|| So that, according to Abydenus also, no revolt of Belshazzar could have taken place earlier than the reign of Darius Hystaspes. I am inclined to think that Tabari's record is correct, and that Cyrus, son of Cambyses

\* Some of the Persian writers relate that the mother of Kishtasp (Darius Hystaspes) was a Jewess. Others, that his queen (Atossa) was a Jewess.—"Times of Daniel," by the Duke of Manchester, p. 152.

† If any one thinks it possible that Ahasuerus may represent Astyages, he need find no difficulty in supposing it possible that Ahasuerus may represent Hystaspes.

‡ Zotenberg's Translation of Tabari, p. 495.

§ Orosius c. iii. paganos, lib. ii, c. 2, p. 74.

|| Eusebius Anch. p. 30.

king of Persia, deposed Nabonadius when Darius was actually on the throne, though not on the throne of the Persian empire. For in the Behistûn inscription Darius seems to claim to himself the title of king by birth, rather than by usurpation. And when describing the events connected with the death of Gomates the Magian, after the death of Cambyses, he says: "This is what I did *after* I had become king." There is also a Persian inscription extant (H. Lassen, p. 15), in which Darius does not style himself as usual "king of kings," but simply "king," apparently "of this province of Persia."<sup>\*</sup> It is to be observed that in the great inscription at Behistûn, Darius carefully avoids fixing dates to the events of his reign; and it is clear from the Parian Chronicle, Ctesias, Manetho, and the Apis monuments that his reign of thirty-six years did not begin till after the death of Cambyses in B.C. 518.<sup>†</sup> Nevertheless, in after days he must have placed the date of his first accession as early as B.C. 521, as appears from the dates of eclipses in his reign recorded by Ptolemy. It was, I think, in the interval between 521 and 518, while Cambyses was occupied in Egypt, and when the whole empire of Persia, as described by Darius on the rock, was in revolt against him, that Nabonadius was deposed by Cyrus son of Cambyses.<sup>‡</sup> Be this, however, as it may, when Daniel, who was in Babylon, states the fact—"In that night was Belshazzar king of the Chaldeans slain, and Darius the Median took the kingdom,"—I am at a loss to understand how any one can venture to argue that Belshazzar died during the siege in the reign of Cyrus.<sup>§</sup> All Babylonian contracts dated in the reign of Darius reckoned of course the years of his reign from the time when he first became master of Babylon, not from the time of his putting down the revolt of Belshazzar. The tablet, therefore, in the British Museum, bearing date in the 18th of Darius, in no way interferes with this interpretation.

In support of the assertion that Demetrius affords the key to the interpretation of Assyrian as well as Hebrew chronology, I will examine the interval of sixty years between the dates B.C. 734 and 674 in the above table, within which there is much confusion of history, and concerning which Mr. Smith writes: "If the taking of

\* Journ. R. As. Soc., Vol. x, Part iii, p. 273.

† See Appendix to 2nd Edit. "Messiah the Prince," p. 371.

‡ In the "Fragmenta Vetustissimorum," quoted by the Duke of Manchester, p. 236, Cyrus and Darius are said to have reigned together some few years.

§ See Chronology of the reign of Sennacherib, p. 15.

Samaria happened about B.C. 721, the expedition of Sennacherib against Hezekiah B.C. 701, with the possibility of a second attack on Hezekiah about B.C. 688, these dates cannot be reconciled with the chronology of the Book of Kings.\* I should much regret to be compelled to throw doubt upon the reckoning of the Book of Kings. Let us see, therefore, whether Demetrius can relieve us from the supposed difficulty, without straining either the Book of Kings or the Assyrian Canon.

1. Both the Babylonian and Assyrian Canons attest that Esarhaddon came to the throne of Assyria in the year B.C. 680. His father Sennacherib was slain in B.C. 681, and "in the month Sabadu (January) following, 680, he entered Nineveh and was proclaimed king of Assyria."†
2. The prophet Isaiah, towards the close of the historical portion of his book, speaks of the death of Sennacherib and accession of Esarhaddon. We may, therefore, reasonably assume that Isaiah lived as late as the year B.C. 678, two years after Esarhaddon came to the throne (Isaiah xxxvii, 38).
3. Isaiah's first vision is dated "in the year that king Uzziah died" (vi, 1): and, according to the common reckoning, this year is set down in the margin of our Bibles as B.C. 760.

So that, according to the common reckoning, there is an interval of above eighty-two years between Isaiah's first vision and the end of his life. And if we may assume that he began to prophecy at the age of twenty, he would have died when upwards of one hundred years' old. We dismiss, then, the common reckoning of our Bibles as highly improbable with regard to "the year that king Uzziah died."

Demetrius, on the other hand, places the death of Uzziah king of Judah in B.C. 734, and the death of the contemporary king of Israel, Menahem, in B.C. 737, thus making the age of Isaiah about seventy-six at his death.

That the date of Demetrius is true, and exact, is certified by the the most accurate test applicable to chronology, viz., by an eclipse registered at Nineveh in the month of June, B.C. 763, and recorded in the Assyrian Canon. For this eclipse is there set down as having happened eighteen years before the accession of Tiglath-Pileser, who

\* Chronology of the reign of Sennacherib, 1871, p. 3.

Ibid. p. 10.

came to the throne, therefore, as all Assyrian interpreters agree, in the year B.C. 745-4.

4. Now Tiglath-Pileser, according to his own annals,\* in the eighth year of his reign (B.C. 738), received tribute of Menahem king of Samaria: and this Menahem we know had given "Pul," the immediate predecessor of Tiglath-Pileser, "a thousand talents of silver, that his hand might be with him to confirm the kingdom in his hand" (2 Kings xv, 19). Therefore, as Menahem reigned not more than ten years in Samaria, this eighth year of Tiglath-Pileser (738) must have been either the ninth or tenth year of Menahem, that is either 738 or 737.
5. Again, Menahem died three years before Uzziah (2 Kings xv, 17): "the year when king Uzziah died," therefore, according to Tiglath-Pileser's annals, was either B.C. 735, or 734, which agrees with Demetrius.

Thus far nothing can be required to add to the clearness of the agreement between the reckoning of Demetrius and the reckoning of the Assyrian Inscriptions, as regards the beginning and end of the sixty years under consideration. Let us next inquire how far the filling up of the interval between B.C. 734 and 674 in the Book of Kings, according to Demetrius, agrees with the Assyrian Canon. And here, it must be admitted, there is some difficulty.

In the foregoing table we find that Hezekiah reigned twenty-nine years, from B.C. 702 to 674. This I assume to be correct.

According to the Assyrian Canon, Sennacherib reigned twenty-four years, from B.C. 705 to 681. This is undoubtedly correct.

Hezekiah and Sennacherib therefore, according to Demetrius, were contemporaries, and the common reckoning of the reign of Hezekiah, from B.C. 726 to 698, must be dismissed.

Now, there are several cylinders in the British Museum relating to the reign of Sennacherib, some perfect, and some in a fragmentary state. Taylor's Cylinder is perfect, and has been translated by Mr. Fox Talbot.† It is dated "on the 20th day of the month Addaru, in the archonship of Belemurani, prefect of Carchemish," and contains the history of eight of Sennacherib's expeditions.

\* Berlin Zeitschrift, Jan. 1869, p. 13.

† Journ. R. Asiatic Soc., 1861, Vol. xix, Part 2.

Belemurani was archon eponymous in B.C. 691-90. He also gave his name to the year a second time, as Tartan, in B.C. 686-5. I had always considered that the date of Taylor's Cylinder was March B.C. 685, that year marking the date of the eighth expedition, at the close of the year in which he was Tartan, and that the third expedition of Sennacherib was therefore in B.C. 690.

Mr. Smith, however, who has the care of the Assyrian department in the British Museum, states distinctly that there are two cylinders dated in the archonship of Mitunu, B.C. 700, which contain an account of Sennacherib's attack upon Hezekiah in his third expedition, which must therefore be placed not later than B.C. 701;\* and Taylor's Cylinder must therefore be dated in the time of Belemurani the Prefect. The question is how far do these cylinders corroborate the reckoning of Demetrius. Let us examine.

Hezekiah began to reign in the year B.C. 702. And if we date Taylor's Cylinder in B.C. 690, the third expedition of Sennacherib falls in the year 701. So that Sennacherib would have attacked Hezekiah in the second year of his reign.

Now, if we turn to the Second Book of Chronicles, ch. xxix, xxx, xxxi, we read of all that Hezekiah did in his *first year*, in the first month, the second month, the third month, and on to the seventh month of B.C. 702. Ch. xxxii then begins—"After these things, and the establishment thereof, Sennacherib king of Assyria came, and entered into Judah, and encamped against the fenced cities, and thought to win them to himself." Hezekiah then "stopped the fountains." He "*built up all the wall that was broken, and raised it up to the towers, and another wall without, and repaired Millo in the city of David,*" and in every way resisted the power of Sennacherib. Now, although no regnal year is named for this invasion, there seems to be good reason, so far as the Book of Chronicles is concerned, for placing it in the second year of Hezekiah, B.C. 701, when Sennacherib relates of himself,—"*Then Hezekiah, who had not bowed down to my yoke, forty-six of his large cities*"—"I utterly destroyed." "*He himself shut himself up in his royal city Jerusalem. He built towers of defence over it, and he strengthened and rebuilt the bulwarks of his great gate.*" "Thirty talents of gold, eight

\* Chronology of the reign of Sennacherib, p. 6.

hundred talents of silver, scarlet robes," &c.—“this mighty spoil unto Nineveh my royal city after me I brought away.” These two accounts are clearly descriptive of the same events. And they must, therefore, have taken place in the year B.C. 701. The Book of Chronicles then goes on to say,—“*After* this did Sennacherib king of Assyria send his servants to Jerusalem, but he himself went against Lacish,” that is to say, in the 14th year of Hezekiah, 689, when the army of Sennacherib was suddenly destroyed.

Let us now turn to the Second Book of Kings (xviii, 7), where the first act related of Hezekiah is, that “he rebelled against the king of Assyria and served him not.” This rebellion must be referred to the time of the first resistance offered to Sennacherib in 701; after which a combination was probably formed between Hezekiah, Hoshea, and So, or Sethos king of Egypt, to resist the power of Assyria,\* lasting till the fall of Samaria, in B.C. 696. For we next read (xviii, 9)—“It came to pass in the fourth year of king Hezekiah (699-8), which was the seventh year of Hoshea son of Elah king of Israel, that Shalmanezzer king of Assyria came up against Samaria and besieged it. And at the end of three years *they*† took it, even in the sixth year of Hezekiah, that is the ninth year of Hoshea king of Israel (997-6). And the king of Assyria did carry away Israel,” &c., that is to say, in the following year, B.C. 696-5. Now we see by the foregoing table that this is the very year of the captivity of Israel fixed by Demetrius, four hundred and seventy-three years and nine months before the reign of the IV<sup>th</sup> Ptolemy; and, as I have elsewhere shown, it is the year also of their captivity recorded upon gravestones in the Crimea by Jews descended from the ten tribes.

But how, it will be asked, could Shalmanezzer have besieged and captured Samaria in B.C. 696, as “king of Assyria,” if Sennacherib had already come to the throne of Assyria some ten years before, that is in B.C. 705. This apparent difficulty is in fact a valuable testimony to the correctness of Demetrius. For, if we turn to the Book of Hoshea, the whole subject of which is the final destruction of the kingdom of Ephraim, and the removal of the remnant of the ten tribes from Samaria, we read—“When Ephraim saw her sickness”—

\* It was now that Menahem, Sennacherib's nominee to the throne of Samaria, was displaced.

† That is the army of Sennacherib and Shalmanezzer.

“then went Ephraim to the Assyrian,\* and sent to king Jareb (or Irib),” that is to king Sennacherib, “yet he could not heal you” (v, 13). And again—“The people of Samaria shall fear, because of the calves of Beth-aven”—“It (the golden calf) shall be carried unto Assyria, for a present to king Jareb (x, 6)” —“As Shalman (that is Shalmanezar) spoiled Beth-arbel”—“so shall he do to you Bethel.”—“In a morning the king of Israel shall be cut off (x, 14, 15).” Thus it appears from this contemporary history that Sennacherib was king of Assyria at the time when “Shalmanezar king of Assyria” carried off the golden calf of Bethel and transported the ten tribes beyond the Euphrates. And from another contemporary witness it appears that though Shalmanezar’s hand did the act, Sennacherib claimed to himself the triumph over Samaria. “Where are the gods of Hamath and Arphad?” says Sennacherib. “Where are the gods of Sepharvaim? Have they delivered Samaria out of my hand” (Isaiah xxxvi, 19)? This testimony of the prophets Hosea and Isaiah seems to be decisive as to the correctness of the reckoning of Demetrius with regard to the fall of Samaria. Josephus is also an independent witness to the same effect. For he wrote with the Tyrian annals of Menander before him: and relates first the resistance offered by Hezekiah to the king of Assyria in the same manner as it is told in the Book of Chronicles, showing that he refers to Sennacherib. He then goes on to speak of the revolt of Hoshea, and of his falling away to So, or Sethos king of Egypt, and how Shalmanezar came and destroyed the government of Israel, and transported the people into Media and Persia after besieging Samaria for three years; and how also Shalmanezar besieged Ilulæus king of Tyre for five years without success; and lastly, how in the 14th of Hezekiah, Sennacherib came against Jerusalem, and his army was suddenly destroyed. It is difficult to believe that Josephus so misunderstood the records of Tyre as thus to have placed the siege of Tyre by Shalmanezar, after, instead of before the death of Sargon, if the earlier date was that recorded. If any further confirmation could be required, we find it in the fact that Shalmanezar and king Hoshea had been for some years contemporary with So, or Sethos king of

\* When Sennacherib, in B.C. 701, passed through Samaria he laid tribute upon Menahem king of Samaria, his own nominee to the throne. If Hoshea who slew Pekah, also slew Menahem, this might be the “sickness” of Samaria which remained unhealed.

Egypt. But we have already seen (p. 347) that Sethos had not come to the throne of Egypt till the year B.C. 715. The idea then that the fall of Samaria, after a three years' siege by Shalmanezar, took place so early as B.C. 721 is absolutely untenable.\* The true reckoning is that of Demetrius, and the reign of Hezekiah is rightly placed as beginning in B.C. 702.

The fact of the existence of a plurality of kings in Assyria, thus shown, is remarkably consistent with what we know of the great extension of the empire which had taken place under Tiglath-Pileser. And accordingly we find him boasting (Isaiah x, 8)—“Are not my princes altogether *kings*.” “At that time,” we read, “did king Ahaz send unto the *kings* of Assyria to help him” (2 Chron. xxviii, 16). And again, when Sennacherib came against Hezekiah, this king stopped the fountains, saying—“why should the *kings* of Assyria come and find much water” (xxxii, 4). I would also suggest, with submission to Mr. Smith's great knowledge of the Assyrian tablets, the possibility that Sin-inadina-pal, or Kiniladanus, who was associated with his father Esarhaddon on the throne before his father's death (p. 324), may have been the brother of Assurbanipal, and not Assurbanipal himself: thus making not less than three kings on the throne of the empire at the same time, in the year B.C. 668.

Twenty-nine years, of the sixty under consideration, have thus been satisfactorily accounted for by the help of Demetrius, and there remain thirty-one years, from the last year of Uzziah B.C. 734, to the first of Hezekiah, to be examined. This interval of thirty-one full years, or thirty-two current, is divided in the Book of Kings equally between the two kings of Judah, Jotham and Ahaz, to each of whom sixteen years are assigned. Jotham begins to reign in Judah in the course of B.C. 734, Pekah reigns over Israel twenty years from the same date till 715, and Ahaz reigns in Judah from B.C. 718 to 703. These dates I conceive to be correct within a single year.

From the Assyrian Canon, and from a series of dated tablets in the British Museum, admirably set forth by Mr. Smith in the *Zeitschrift* of July, 1869, we learn that Sargon reigned from B.C. 722 to 705. So that Ahaz and Sargon were contemporary kings, as Hezekiah and Sennacherib we have seen were contemporary.

\* Chronology of the reign of Sennacherib, p. 11.

Now the history of Ahaz is preserved in the Books of Kings, Chronicles, and Isaiah, with much distinctness. It appears that he began to reign when Pekah had been seventeen years on the throne of Samaria, and that in his first year, B.C. 718, Pekah together with Rezin king of Damascus endeavoured to get possession of Jerusalem, without success; that Rezin succeeded in settling a colony of Syrians at Elath; while Pekah carried away not less than 200,000 women, sons, and daughters from Judah: that Ahaz then asked help of the *kings* of Assyria: that Tiglath-Pileser *king* of Assyria came to him, "but strengthened him not" (2 Chron. xxviii, 16, 20): that Isaiah counselled Ahaz to be quiet, took witnesses to prove the time of the birth of one of his children, and then foretold to the king that "Before the child shall have knowledge to cry, my father, and my mother, the riches of Damascus, and the spoil of Samaria, shall be taken away before the king of Assyria," that is to say before the expiration of three years, ending in the years 715 or 714. We then read how Tiglath-Pileser took Damascus, carried the people to Kir, and slew Rezin their king: and how Ahaz went to Damascus to meet Tiglath-Pileser, and sent a pattern of an altar from Damascus to Jerusalem, and remained some little time at the court of Tiglath-Pileser at Damascus, till after the altar had been erected (2 Kings xvi, 9, 12). Here, then, we obtain contemporary witness that Tiglath-Pileser was still on the throne at least as late as B.C. 716, though Shabmanezer and Sargon had both obtained the rank of kings before that time. For Rezin we are told was still alive eighteen years after the death of Uzziah in B.C. 734. It is remarkable also, that though the fall of Damascus is here spoken of, in conformity with the words of the prophet, no mention is made of the fall of Samaria. Tiglath-Pileser slew Rezin and took Damascus, but who spoiled Samaria? That both cities had now fallen before the king of Assyria we know from Isaiah. For about this time, say in B.C. 715, or 714, it was that Tiglath-Pileser made use of the expression just referred to—"Are not my princes altogether kings? Is not Calno as Carchemish? Is not Hamath as Arpad? Is not Samaria as Damascus?" The inference then seems to be that Tiglath-Pileser, who had now come to within three years of the end of his life, had as usual associated certain princes with him on the throne, and that it had fallen to the lot of one of them to take Samaria. Be this as

it may, it is certain, according to the Hebrew account, that the kingdom of Samaria was deprived of its king in the reign of Tiglath-Pileser, and, according to the interpretation of Demetrius, not earlier than about the year B.C. 715, or 716. Isaiah then makes mention of Ahaz for the last time (xiv, 28)—“In the year that king Ahaz died was this burden. Rejoice not thou whole Palestina, because the rod of him that smote thee is broken : for out of the serpent's root shall come forth a cockatrice.” These words either apply to the death of Tiglath-Pileser in B.C. 712, followed by the invasion of Shalmanezar in 698—events apparently too wide apart—or to the death of Sargon, the conqueror and oppressor of Palestine, who died in August, B.C. 705, shortly before “the year that king Ahaz died,” B.C. 703, followed by the invasion of Palestine by Sennacherib in 701. The latter no doubt is the time referred to. And thus again the known date of Sargon's death, 705, according to his annals, marks the time of the death of Ahaz, which must have been soon after 705, as correctly laid down by Demetrius. It now only remains to be shown, how Hamath and Arpad, Samaria and Damascus, were, according to Assyrian records, subdued about the year B.C. 715, as reckoned by Demetrius, and by an Assyrian prince then associated on the throne with Tiglath-Pileser.

Let us turn to the work entitled “*Les Fastes de Sargon*,” translated by MM. J. Oppert and J. Ménant, from inscriptions in Sargon's palace at Khorsabad. “This is what I accomplished,” writes Sargon,\* “from the commencement of my reign up to my fifteenth campaign. I defeated, in the plains of Kalou, Khoumbanigas king of Elam. I besieged and occupied the city of Samaria ; I carried into captivity 27,280 of its inhabitants ; I levied upon them 50 chariots, leaving them the rest of their property ; I placed over them my own rulers, and imposed upon them the tribute of the king supreme, or ‘*Sar Mahri* ;’”—the word *Mahri* being taken here as equivalent to the word מֶלֶךְ in Daniel, “Lord,” where it represents “Lord of kings” (Dan. ii, 47). He then goes on to recount his several military exploits in different countries, putting together when possible all that was done during the fifteen campaigns at each particular spot. The account of his attack on Samaria is modestly given. He does not even name the conquered king (Pekah) ; he speaks as if he was then only acting on behalf of the supreme king of Assyria. He makes the most

\* *Les Fastes de Sargon*, p. 9.

indeed of his comparatively trifling capture of 27,000 inhabitants from Samaria, though Pekah had lately captured not less than 200,000 of the people of Judah; and then goes on to other exploits till, apparently about his seventh year, B.C. 715, he comes to the revolt of Hamath, Arpad, Damascus, and Samaria, and the conquest of those confederate provinces in that year. Now the date of this conquest cannot be placed earlier than about the year 715; because Sargon previously speaks of a victory gained over Sebech, or Sabbaco, as general of the Egyptians, and of his imposing tribute on Pi-ir-chu, or Bi-ir-chu (Boccoris),\* king of Egypt, whose reign we have seen (p. 347) did not begin till 715 at the earliest; and also of tributes laid upon Samsi queen of the Arabs and It-Himyar the Sabean. Again, in the fragmentary annals of Tiglath-Pileser, the chronological range of which is as yet very imperfectly defined, we read of the fall of Rezin, the putting down of Pekah, and first setting up of Hoshea,† and of the tributes placed upon Samsi queen of the Arabs, and on the Sabeans, which exploits, apparently, are the same as those accomplished by Sargon.‡ It is sufficiently clear that the putting down of Hamath, Arpad, Damascus, and Samaria by Sargon was the result of war in the time of Pekah, Rezin, and Ahaz, not of war in the time of Hezekiah and Hoshea, eighteen years after. Also that the date of Pekah's death was about B.C. 715, the date of Demetrius, certainly not 730 as certain modern writers contend.§

I now quit the subject of the agreement of Demetrius with the Assyrian Annals, which has been established at the following points:—

DEMETRIUS.		ASSYRIAN ANNALS.	
Death of Uzziah .. .. .	734	Death of Uzziah.. .. .	734-5
Putting down of Samaria and Damascus in the reign of Ahaz, 20 years later ..	} 715	Putting down of Hamath, Arpad, Damascus, and Samaria, about the 7th year of Sargon .. ..	} 715
Death of Ahaz after the breaking of "the rod that smote" him ..	} 703	Death of Sargon .. .. .	705
Sennacherib's invasion in the 2nd year of Hezekiah ..	} 701	Sennacherib's third campaign, and invasion of Palestine }	701
Death of Hezekiah after the accession of Esarhaddon }	674	Accession of Esarhaddon ..	680

\* This identification was first observed by Sir H. Rawlinson. † 2 Kings xv, 30.

‡ *Zeitschrift*, January, 1869.

§ Chronology of the reign of Sennacherib, p. 11.

and I once more repeat that the correctness of his dates is placed beyond all question by their agreement with the dates of the three solar eclipses B.C. 763, 689, and 585, all which combine to lower the common reckoning exactly twenty-five years: and I now come to the consideration of another very interesting result to be derived from the history of Assurbanipal.

#### RECTIFICATION OF THE ASSYRIAN CANON.

We read in the foregoing history (p. 200), that soon after Assurbanipal had established Ummánigás and Tammaritu on the throne in Elam, that is towards the early part of the year B.C. 652, and before the revolt of Saulmugina in 652-1, the king had despatched a herald to the court of the king of Elam to demand restitution of the image of the goddess Nana, which the Elamites had carried away to Shushan just 1635 years before that date (p. 234). In another passage Kudurnanhundi king of Elam is recorded as the king who had carried off the image, and it is there said to have remained in Elam during—

2 Ners	=	1200 years.
7 Sosses	=	420 „
15 years	=	15 „
		<hr/>
		1635 years.

that is from the year B.C. 2287 to 652 (p. 251). Now we should place no great faith in the exactness of any such precise report of time after so great a lapse of years, did we not know from this and other sources that the Chaldeans and Assyrians had an exact method of reckoning time in cycles of Sari, Neri, and Sossi.

Abydenus writes—“A Sarus is three thousand six hundred years, a Nerus is six hundred, and a Sossus sixty.” And Sir H. Rawlinson has deciphered a tablet in the Assyrian character, from which he gives “a specimen of the ordinary Babylonian sexagesimal notation,” to which he has appended a “portion of a table of squares which extend in due order from 1 to 60.”\* Now if we might assume that the 15 years above spoken of beyond the even cycles, were to be reckoned after the end, and not before the beginning of the two Ners and seven Sosses, we should of course be enabled to fix the dates of

\* Early History of Babylonia, p. 4.

a series of not less than twenty-seven Babylonian cycles of 60 years each, in the same way that the whole series of Sabbatical years and Jubilees of Hebrew Scripture have been accurately determined from two or three known dates, to the great assistance of chronologists in laying down the outline of Scripture history. That the correct position of these 15 years is at the end of the period, and not the beginning, is certain from the fact, that by so reckoning we arrive at a year in the Assyrian Canon which is registered as the termination of a cycle. For if we add fifteen years to B.C. 652, we find that B.C. 667 should be the first year of a cycle, and adding again two Sosses or 120 years to that figure, we find that B.C. 787 was actually the first year of a cycle. For the previous year 788 is registered in the Canon as the last year of a cycle. Dr. Haigh\* I believe was the first to mark the bearing of these cycles upon the Assyrian Canon. Though apparently unacquainted with the passage in Assurbanipal's Annals concerning the image of Nana, he wrote in July 1870—“*Karru*, in the year B.C. 788 (translated Jubilé by Dr. Oppert), marks the last year of a cycle, a line below B.C. 728, marks another; and one below B.C. 668 probably another.”

In the Assyrian Canon, as interpreted by Sir Henry Rawlinson, Shalmanezzer II, whose annals are recorded on the black obelisk in the British Museum, in his thirty-first year appears to have “*inaugurated a second cycle*”:† and Sir Henry observes that the verb used in this passage is *akrur*, from *כָּרַר*, “to move in a circle” (Gesenius). Between this thirty-first year however, B.C. 828, as commonly arranged, and B.C. 788, there are but forty years, instead of sixty. Dr. Haigh therefore, after laying down a calendar of cycles with intercalated months, from B.C. 787 to 688, in conformity with known “astronomical observations from Assyrian documents,” goes on to suggest, that the reign of Assur-dan-pal, son of Shalmanezzer, who revolted from his father, and secured to himself the allegiance of twenty-seven of the principal cities of Assyria for a period, as he assumes, of nineteen or twenty years, during which the appointment of eponymous archons over the great cities was probably suspended, should be interpolated in the Canon, by which the thirty-first year of Shalmanezzer, B.C. 828, will become B.C. 847, and be the first year of a “second cycle” of sixty

\* Zeitschrift July and August, 1870.

† Athenæum, 7th Sept., 1867.

years in that king's reign : and he closes his observations by saying—“This circumstance, combined with others noted above, seems to me to establish a certainty that Assur-dan-pal reigned for twenty or nineteen years, from B.C. 844, or 843, to 824.” I have no doubt that Dr. Haigh is correct in this suggestion, and I have, accordingly, in the foregoing comparison of the reckoning of Demetrius with the Assyrian Canon, inserted in the Canon, a reign of nineteen years beginning in B.C. 842, between the reigns of Shalmanezer and Samsi-vul.

Here again the value of the Canon of Demetrius—for his record of dates is worthy of the title—is seen, as a true interpreter of Assyrian chronology. For according to Demetrius the year B.C. 860 was the year of the accession of Jehu king of Israel, of Hazael king of Syria, and of the death of Jezebel the widow of king Ahab. And in the eighteenth year of the reign of Shalmanezer, B.C. 860, thus corrected, we read—“I crossed the Euphrates for the sixteenth time. Hazael of Damascus relying on the multitude of his soldiers collected his soldiers in great numbers—I fought with him and defeated him.”\* And Mr. Smith has written—“While examining part of the Assyrian collection in the British Museum, I lately discovered a short inscription of Shalmanezer II, king of Assyria, in which it is stated that Jehu king of Israel sent him tribute in the eighteenth year of his reign.” Again in the sixth year of Shalmanezer, corrected to B.C. 872, “the Assyrians defeat the confederate forces of southern Syria, Egypt, Arabia, and Palestine, at Aroer. Ahab of Jezreel was associated with Benhadad in this fight.”† Now 872 is according to Demetrius the 23rd year of Ahab, in which he died, and in which Ahaziah came to the throne. So that the last year of Ahab, and first year of Jehu mark the sixth and eighteenth years of Shalmanezer. Neither of these years will bear to be moved without dislocation between Demetrius and the Canon. The striking fact is, not that nineteen years arbitrarily inserted into the Assyrian Canon bring it into harmony with Demetrius, but that nineteen years, neither more nor less, are required to complete the cycles referred to in that Canon : and that when so inserted, the reckoning of the two Canons is in harmony to a single year.

\* “The Nimrud Obelisk,” by Dr. Hincks. Dublin Magazine, Oct. 1853.

† Sir H. Rawlinson ; Athenæum, 18th May, 1867.

Assyrian interpreters are still much at variance with regard to the date of the eighteenth year of Shalmanezzer. Sir Henry Rawlinson places the date in the year B.C. 841. Dr. Oppert places it in B.C. 888, not less than forty-seven years earlier. Dr. Hincks favoured the views of Dr. Oppert. Mr. Smith coincides with Sir H. Rawlinson. The true date, as I have endeavoured to show, B.C. 860, lies between the two. Let us test the probability of each of these three dates by the probable time of the death of Jezebel, who was slain by Jehu in the year of his accession. Jezebel we know was the daughter of Ithobal king of Tyre, and priest of Astarte, who lived to the age of sixty-eight, according to Menander's Annals of Tyre, and died just forty-two years before the sister of Pygmalion fled from Tyre and built the city of Carthage. Now Polybius, who was living at the time of the fall of Carthage, in B.C. 146, as quoted by Appian, informs us that Carthage had flourished seven hundred years from the time of its foundation to the time when the city was destroyed. The epitomizer of Levy records the same number of years. Suidas writes—Scipio took the city after it had ruled over the surrounding nations seven hundred years. Orosius writes—"Diruta est Carthago septingentesimo post anno quam condita erat." The colony of Carthage was founded therefore in the year B.C. 846: and Ithobal was born one hundred and ten years before the foundation, that is in B.C. 956. Now assuming that Jezebel his daughter was born about the twentieth, or twenty-fifth year of her father's age, that is in the year B.C. 936 or 931, her age at death would have been—

## AGE OF JEZEBEL.

According to Oppert,	from 38 to 43	in the year B.C. 888
„ Demetrius	„ 66 to 71	„ „ 860
„ Rawlinson	„ 85 to 90	„ „ 841

Clearly the intermediate date is the nearest to the truth. And thus by means of an entirely independent course of inquiry, our already well-founded faith in the accuracy of Demetrius is again confirmed: and the necessity of the proposed modification of the Assyrian Canon strongly supported.





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